HONG KONG SECONDARY MUSIC EDUCATION: A SOCIOLOGICAL ENQUIRY

Wai-chung Ho

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ABSTRACT

Hong Kong Secondary Music Education: A Sociological Enquiry

The thesis intends to explore struggles over the content of musical knowledge and musical meaning within the music education system, in relation to overall social political change. The research focuses on music education in Hong Kong, with reference to the transfer of Hong Kong's political sovereignty from the United Kingdom of Great Britain to the People's Republic of China in 1997.

Part One (Socio-political and cultural heritage) traces the interrelationship between China, Britain and Hong Kong in the content of Hong Kong music education during the period of British administration. This includes the following: Chapter One introduces the research problem, theoretical orientation and main argument of the thesis. Chapter Two examines patterns of the historical context of Imperial China, modern China and colonial Hong Kong music education. Chapter Three is an analysis of the rise of Hong Kong indigenous popular and serious (classical) music outside the school environment.

Part Two (Impact of the 1984 and 1989 political events) describes the significance of these two events on Hong Kong music education. This includes the following: Chapter Four is a comparison between formal Hong Kong music education, the changing socio-political configuration and other social institutions under the influence of the 1989 Tiananmen Square

Incident. Chapter Five is a comparison between music education and other parts of the education system in Hong Kong as a consequence of the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident.

Part Three (Tensions of Hong Kong music education) highlights the dilemmas of Hong Kong music education. This includes the following: Chapter Six focuses on the struggles of Hong Kong music education within the socio-political, cultural and economic arenas. Chapter Seven is an investigation of music teachers' opinions about Hong Kong secondary music education.

Part Four (Music as a social construction) is the conclusion of the thesis in Chapter Eight which reviews the patterns of Hong Kong music education by treating music as a socio-political construction, and attempts to apply the broader implications of the thesis.

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PART ONE: SOCIO-POLITICAL AND CULTURAL HERITAGE

PART TWO: IMPACT OF THE 1984 AND 1989 POLITICAL EVENTS

PART THREE: TENSIONS OF HONG KONG MUSIC EDUCATION

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PART ONE

SOCIO-POLITICAL AND CULTURAL HERITAGE

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: THE RESEARCH BACKGROUND AND THE OVERVIEW OF THE ARGUMENT

1.1 THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The research is an analysis of music education in secondary schools in Hong Kong, with reference to the transfer of Hong Kong's political sovereignty from the United Kingdom of Great Britain to the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1997. The thesis intends to explore the struggles between political ideology and musical meaning in the music education system, as well as to consider the music curriculum in the context of its responses to the evolving society in Hong Kong. This context is characterised by the policies of localisation[1] after the inauguration of the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration[2] as well as the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident.[3]

The task of the thesis is three-fold. First, the thesis will look for patterns in the development of music education in Hong Kong through an investigation of the role of the state as a principal actor in shaping the content of musical knowledge and in controlling musical meaning. Second, the thesis will describe tensions of political, economic and cultural struggles between various Hong Kong musical areas. These include, on the one hand, Hong Kong contemporary classical and popular music promoted by diverse social institutions outside the school; on the other hand, they include the official musical knowledge promoted by the government in Hong Kong music education. Third, the thesis will develop a concept of musical meaning by offering a model of music as a socio-political construction in a

multi-dimensional approach to the understanding of the interpretation of musical meaning with reference to various musical styles taught in Hong Kong secondary schools. The concluding chapter will also highlight the challenge to Hong Kong music education during the transfer of Hong Kong's sovereignty to China in 1997.

1.2 THE RESEARCH METHODS AND PROCEDURES

The development of a theoretical framework from the literature review, alongside documentary research, forms the fundamental basis of the research, constituting the initial stage of the study. The literature review examines the role of the state in the implementation of the Hong Kong music curriculum, and the political aspects of musical knowledge within the context of formal education and the mediation of music in the wider social perspective. The research draws upon a broad range of sources, some of which have received little attention from the music education sector in Hong Kong. The resources include Hong Kong government papers on general education, Hong Kong annual reports by the Hong Kong government, British and Hong Kong education journals, Chinese, British and Hong Kong music education journals, the Hong Kong music syllabuses for secondary schools, magazines and newspapers on Mainland China and Hong Kong's popular music, Chinese and English newspapers on education, music and politics about Britain, China and Hong Kong, and English and Chinese books on music, education and politics about Hong Kong, China and Britain. Then the research begins to investigate the patterns in the

development of music education in Mainland China and contemporary Hong Kong respectively, bringing some aspects of the theoretical framework to bear on this area.

The second stage of the research employs questionnaires concerning music teachers' opinions about Hong Kong music education. The questionnaire research proceeded in two phases. In Phase One, ten government-aided secondary schools were chosen for the pilot test conducted in October 1994. The survey was conducted on teachers' views about music education in Hong Kong. In total ten questionnaires were received for the pilot test in the beginning of November 1994. Phase Two was conducted by sending questionnaires to 50% of Hong Kong government, government-aided, and private secondary schools (210 in total) in February 1995. In this research, the investigation focused on Hong Kong secondary grammar schools, not on technical and/or prevocational secondary schools.[4] The data of the questionnaires is intended to describe the existing nature and content of the Hong Kong music education system and official and unofficial musical knowledge and value as these are understood by teachers. The research will explore the struggles between political ideology and the content of musical knowledge in Hong Kong music education. The questionnaires will also be used to further examine and identify the arguments of the thesis.

1.3 THEORETICAL ORIENTATION OF THE THESIS

The research attempts to examine Hong Kong music education from a socio-political perspective, guided by the concept of musical meaning. This traces

traditional music education within the realm of a political conception of musical values and experiences in Imperial China and colonial Hong Kong, showing how these fields have affected contemporary Hong Kong music education.

The massive question of the meaning of music has received much attention from aestheticians, philosophers, musicologists, sociologists and anthropologists who have attempted to identify its make-up or its value. Music appears to "mean" various things to different theorists.[5] These theories present different interpretations of musical meaning with reference to musical materials, individual and social phenomena.

The thesis does not assert that music expresses concrete, universal or monolithic meanings. Rather, the nature of musical meaning is plural and multiple. Multiple musical meanings can be associated with the relations between music and personal experiences. All human beings have subjectivity, are able to resist the imposition of definitions and meanings, and to creatively engage in the production of new definitions and meanings. This must be the case to varying extents in any part of the world and in any social system. There are also a number of social factors which have an influence on musical meaning. These factors include economic, cultural and national forces. However, I am not concerned with individuals' personal and subjective interpretations of musical meaning, which will be multiple and to some extent unpredictable. The thesis also does not intend to speculate about the individual interpretation of musical meanings. Rather, my concern is with the attempts made by state forces to control and define

certain public, conventional aspects of delineated musical meanings. The thesis argues that the state plays a more prominent role with relation to musical meaning in some social systems than in others; and to some extent, that the influence of state forces can be helpful in understanding the cases of Chinese and Hong Kong music education. The thesis focuses on governmental controls over certain aspects of musical delineations in explaining patterns in the development of music education in Mainland China and Hong Kong where political discourses are the controller of the production and distribution of musical knowledge. The state bureaucracy is the principal dynamic force that shapes the meaning of musical knowledge in the Hong Kong education system.

1.3.1 Lucy Green's Concept of Dual Musical Meaning and her Triple Levels of Musical Competence

With reference to the educational setting in the British colony of Hong Kong, this thesis adopts Lucy Green's musical theory (1988) which has extended Adorno's theory which deals with the relationship between music and society as well as Meyer's musical meaning in relation to British music education. This thesis begins with a critical appraisal of Green's writing (1988) on dual musical meaning as "inherent" and "delineated" (see Figure 1.1). A distinction between "inherent" and "delineated" musical meaning is made, the former being concerned with meaning raised within musical material, and the latter pointing outward from musical materials towards music's role as a social product in both "collective and individual consciousness" (Green 1988: 31).

Figure 1.1 Green's Diagram of Dual Musical Meaning
(Green 1988: 138)

Green (1988) explains that experiencing one side of musical meaning without simultaneously experiencing the other is not possible. Music carries its inherent meaning, as well as its social relations mediated through history. Green's "delineated" musical meaning is both constructed on personal and on conventional, collective experiences. On the one hand, individual musical experience appears directly from musical materials that inhere in music within the context of the music itself; on the other hand, individual experience of its inherent meanings can also communicate delineated meanings in both individual and conventional dimensions. The relationship between "inherent musical meaning" and "delineated musical meaning" is not one of opposites. Allan Moore (1993) echoes Lucy Green's view, and suggests the terms of "syntactical" and "analogue" with similar

ranges of reference to her "inherent" and "delineated". Through a "holistic" approach (Moore 1993) admits the relevance of both "syntactical" and "analogue" modes of understanding which can be communicated in an undistinguishable meaning.[6]

Green (1988) also argues that all musical and sociological aspects are inseparable in a complex pattern of social, political, economic and historical processes. She maintains that musical styles change inherently over history and a new style of music mingles into collective musical delineations. She devises tripartite divisions (celebration, alienation and ambiguity) in scaling the musical experiences of individuals which forms the focus of considering differences between "popular" and "classical" music in a music education setting. The musical experience takes place in the most uninhibited way, when it involves the understanding of musical meaning in terms of affirming the inherent in music, alongside a positive contextual and social dimension towards its delineated meanings. We come to *celebrate* music when we experience inherent and delineated music meanings positively. This is the first possible result of musical understanding in Green's theory.

The second possible result of musical understanding is that alienation follows when aggravating musical experience of inherent meanings is accompanied by negative attitudes towards delineated meanings. If there is alienation, music cannot move, interest and excite us. We do not affirm ourselves in its inherent meanings, nor do we positively relate to its delineations. There is no participation in music through the communication of and interaction with the musical experience. The music *alienates* us.

The third possible result of musical understanding is that the notion of musical ambiguity comes about when inherent meanings are affirmative but delineated meanings negative or inherent meanings are aggravating but delineated meanings positive. In this sense, music cannot be just either celebrating or alienating. Consequently, we are confused, ambivalent or vague in the musical experience.

1.3.2 A Critical Appraisal of Green's Theory With Reference To Her Range of Musical Meaning

In this thesis, I attempt to apply Green's theory of musical meaning (1988) to the development of music education in both Mainland China and Hong Kong with relation to their socio-political transformations. This is with reference to the interactions between traditional Chinese, Western classical and contemporary Hong Kong music, as well as the contradictions between classical music and local Hong Kong popular music in the transmission of musical knowledge and meaning in the music education system.

Despite the usefulness of the concept of "inherent" and "delineated" musical meanings in understanding the dialectical relations between personal and social conventions, Green's theory is not precise about the processes of the influence of state forces in interpreting the musical meaning which can be helpful in the case of Hong Kong. This thesis aspires to explore the limitations of Green's musical theory in the Chinese context, such as the People's Republic of China (PRC) and Hong Kong. I will explain this view in this section as well as in the conclusion of the thesis.

The concepts of democracy, communism, authoritarianism and other social-political systems are complex and fluid.[7] They do not refer to radically distinct or opposed social systems, and many of the characteristics of one democratic system will be evident in another authoritarian system. It is a matter of emphasis. When I use the words "democratic" and "undemocratic" I intend them to indicate the relative emphasis which is laid on these processes in the society, and not to suggest that the two concepts are wholly clear-cut or contrasted.

Green's range of possible personal and conventional delineations is wider in the democratic Western world where political pluralism has been institutionalised and where "self" is more emphasised in musical experience and understanding. The celebration of the self, as Green suggests, can be found in the mediations between self, the external world and musical consciousness. Contrastingly, the concept of "self" in undemocratic countries is distinct from the Western democratic countries. In the case of the undemocratic countries, (such as the former socialist countries in Central and Eastern Europe, Communist China, North Korea, Vietnam and Hong Kong as a colony of the United Kingdom), the matter of "self" is always being influenced and/or suppressed by the socio-political framework in certain situations. Although the concept of "self" can be limited in the West, the relative freedoms and democracy enjoyed by the populace is comparatively higher than in the communist or other undemocratic countries.

With reference to the music education systems, both democratic and

undemocratic states can influence the meaning of musical knowledge in various contents, aspects and degrees. For example, the singing of national anthems in different countries can be regarded as a form of civic education. The contents of national anthems of different countries convey different political, religious, economic and civic messages such as loving the home country, serving the people and country, introducing human rights, advocating equality, emphasising precedence of national interests over individual interests. In other words, political pluralism is reflected in national songs. However, some countries such as the PRC and Iran, only allow and select certain types of political or religious values to be promoted in the national anthems.

The thesis emphasises that the undemocratic states play a dominant role in controlling the contents and meaning of musical knowledge within their music education systems. The writer suggests a political dimension is needed to emphasise the interpretation of musical meaning in the undemocratic countries which uphold the beliefs of their own political ideology in music. The ruling elite and/or the reigning emperor in China adopted the state ideology of the Confucian tradition to exercise their authorities to dominate the country. The hierarchical interaction among people was devised to keep the stability of the socio-political system in Imperial China.[8] Lucian Pye argues that Chinese political culture is generally "group-oriented" and necessarily "hostile to individualism....." (McMillen 1993: 12). Hofstede (1984: 151) discovers that "Mao's anti-individualistic and pro-collectivistic echoes are deeply rooted in the Chinese

tradition." As reinforced by traditional beliefs, societal needs prevail over individual needs in China. Thus the bureaucratic guidelines for music were not rooted in Communist China, but had historical precedents in Imperial China (Perris 1983). The political themes of cultural products including songs have been propagandised and dictated by the Chinese Communist Party in China. Official state culture in China has been standardised for the celebration of "accepted" patriotic sentiments in music.

The relations of music education with society, politics, culture and musical meaning in undemocratic countries, as argued in this thesis, are not a simple replication of those in Western democratic countries. People in communist and undemocratic countries do experience inherent and delineated musical meanings, as people in democratic countries do, but their conventional "delineated" musical meanings are constructed under the control of the state and may carry the same political messages for everyone. Under the political suppression of the state, conflicts between the state and people are "unexpressed", with a realm of hidden musical meaning remaining within people. People have to consent to the "publicly expressed" musical meaning which is advocated by the state. Musical experiences are bounded in the arena of "unexpressed" musical meaning but released through the channel of "publicly expressed" musical meaning. This kind of "publicly expressed" musical meaning is operational and measurable through the state controlled market forces and other public institutions. Some people do enjoy and celebrate certain music propagated by governments; whilst some people express political opposition in their

musical practices. An example is the rise of Chinese democratic popular songs in the PRC during the late 1980s.

In the case of Hong Kong, Hong Kong people possess a high degree of freedom. However, this is not reflected in certain aspects of the society which is largely non-democratic. Lee (1987: 115) describes Hong Kong as "a land where there is freedom but no democracy." Since music has been used as a means to consolidate political power in the colonised administration, Hong Kong music education has been an arena in which the struggles between traditional Chinese, socialist and colonial Hong Kong ideologies take place. Firstly, with reference to traditional Chinese culture, Chinese music has been regarded as the only authentic source of Hong Kong traditional culture which originates from Mainland China and not from Taiwan.[9] Secondly, with reference to socialism, songs that carried nationalistic sentiments were accepted by the PRC authorities, but those that carried implicit political opposition against the PRC authorities were banned in Hong Kong education before 1993.[10] Thirdly, in the educational setting in Hong Kong, official musical knowledge is not an educational issue, rather it is a "hidden" political agenda. The transmission of Western classical music has been disseminated from the state, through the state controlled producers, promoters associated with the production of music to the performers and across the gulf to the receivers (students) in schools. This makes necessary the recognition of the complexity of individual and political mediation in the Hong Kong music education system.

Green's musical theory is more appropriate to the Hong Kong musical

phenomenon during and after the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident. This began with the most popular Chinese rock band led by Cuī Jiàn, which gave a performance in Tiananmen Square to show its support to the demonstrators during the prodemocratic movement. The rise of rock music in China was deemed a manifestation of a political and cultural struggle against the PRC government. The indigenous Chinese political and democratic popular songs also spread to Hong Kong during the 1989 students' movement in Beijing. Hong Kong popular songs were encouraged by the mass media to focus on nationalism and/or democracy during the prodemocratic movement. The song "All For Freedom", regarded as the first democratic song composed by a Hong Kong artist, was promoted for the support of the Beijing Students' Movement during and after the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident. This marked the beginning of the history of the politicisation of Hong Kong popular music. The magnitude and nature of political cultural changes among Hong Kong Chinese were ascertained from a historical angle, reflecting nationalism, patriotism and individualism to form the main stream of popular music towards the end of the 1980s. Hong Kong Chinese people broke the chain of remaining content with "accepted" musical meaning and were independent from institutionised musical meaning provided by the Hong Kong and the PRC authorities.

In summary, Green's theory of inherent and delineated musical meanings can be used to explain the individual experience of musical materials in the arenas of personal and social conventions in democratic and undemocratic countries. However, my concern is with the socio-political

framework in the interpretation of musical meaning, particularly focusing on the control of state forces over the music education systems. I suggest that Green's range of possible conventional delineations is wider in democratic countries than in undemocratic countries but would argue that it became wider when music was associated with a pro-democracy movement in China and Hong Kong.

1.4 MUSICAL MEANING AND MUSIC EDUCATION WITH REFERENCE TO BRITISH AND HONG KONG MUSIC EDUCATION

1.4.1 Music Education in Great Britain up to the 1980s - Background Information

The school system in Britain was regarded as the reproduction of the social and cultural hegemony of the middle classes before the 1960s. The post-Renaissance classical tradition in the activities of singing, listening and performance had been the dominant music materials of class music teaching in British schools. Music education in Britain was culturally bound to serve the interests of a particular group of people with regard to the study of classical music and, to some extent avant-garde music as legitimate content for the music curriculum.

A dramatic reaction against the traditional British education of the 1950s and 1960s was instigated by Michael Young, whose book *Knowledge and Control* appeared in 1971. Young suggested that one of the failures of the traditional sociology of education was that it had taken problems for granted rather than setting the task of enquiring into them. There were sociological arguments that the schooling system operated in such a way

as to help perpetuate the social class structure of capitalist society. In terms of Young's (1971) sociological analysis of the school curriculum, "serious" music would be defined as high status knowledge and "pop" music as low status knowledge; in Keddie's (1973) terms, "serious" music would be subject-based knowledge of the school and "pop" music the everyday knowledge of most of the school pupils. This indicates that school curricula were overpowered by middle-class culture, that pupils from working-class culture thus stood a smaller chance of aspiring to educational goals than middle-class pupils. Vulliamy (1977) referred to the main emphases of class music teaching in secondary schools which were on music appreciation, incorporating listening to and discussing the history of classical music, and singing, together with the teaching of classical notation and theory as "the traditional paradigm of music teaching". He criticised these musical activities which were restricted to one particular type of music. This was namely the European "serious" tradition. Green (1988: 50) also criticises the fact that other musical styles such as popular music, jazz and ethnic musics were "missed out" and "ignored" by the vast majority of the examination curricula before the implementation of the GCSE in Britain in 1986.[11]

The introduction of popular music in the British curriculum started to be discussed under the influence of musicians, music educators and sociologists.[12] This indicated the changing attitudes towards popular music in its musical content as well as its musical meaning. In the 1960s, the music of the Beatles was described as "an incontrovertible musical force"

and popular music started to be very slowly included in the music curriculum (Fletcher 1987: 160). In 1968, Keith Swanwick's book *Popular Music and the Teacher* was the first important study of the inclusion of popular music in schools. Paul Farmer, Head of Music at a London Comprehensive School, also suggested the incorporation of popular music into Mode III CSE in 1976.[13]

1.4.2 Music Education in Hong Kong up to the 1980s

After entering its colonised period in 1842,[14] Hong Kong informal and formal music education has been modelled on British music education.[15] Western classical music was the core of musical knowledge in schools and music activities were European centred in the activities of singing and listening in Hong Kong music education. The music which students pursued outside the school environment was ignored in formal Hong Kong music education. However, Hong Kong music education is unlike British music education in that the role of Western classical music in the curriculum has never been challenged by Hong Kong music educators either during the 1970s or since. In particular, questions have not been addressed on how meaning is provided in popular music in the curriculum.

The focus of European classical music in Hong Kong secondary schools was associated with the courses run by the colleges of education which were considered as the main source to provide qualified music teachers before the 1980s. The music education training was based on Western classical music and teachers were helped to develop their musical

knowledge and skills in the scope of the traditional and the avant-garde paradigms rooted in the culture of European "serious" music. Teachers in Hong Kong had to carry the responsibility of passing on European "high" art music to their students. Although there was no music syllabus for Hong Kong secondary education before the 1980s to stipulate that teachers should transmit Western classical music in schools, music teachers felt confident in having Western classical music in their teaching because of their musical background. In this respect, Hong Kong music education concerned itself overwhelmingly with Western classical music before the 1980s, and popular music was regarded as a threat to traditional Western art music and as an inferior art form in the curriculum.

1.4.3 Music Education and Musical Meaning as Reflection of State/Wider Social Forces from the 1980s Onwards

The general education debates about the pros and cons of different aspects of so-called "traditional" and "progressive" teaching methods with reference to "serious" and "popular" music have been discussed for many years. The greatest obstacle to change in music education could be anticipated as the burden of a historical tradition, ideologically based on the dichotomy between "serious" and "popular" music. The danger of arguing against the view that European classical music as a whole is relevant to students, is of denying them access to an area of knowledge and experience which is central to their culture. The prevailing characteristic of school music can be seen in the discontinuity between the culture of the school and the students. This is what Whitty (1985: 10) advocates when he sees school knowledge "as

a site of interaction between home culture and school culture."

"What counts as music" in education has changed, especially over the last ten years in Britain. An "open" style of music education in which students could find their interests in various types of popular music was established in Great Britain in the 1980s. Vulliamy's observations on music educators' prejudiced activities towards popular music, during the 1970s, have been further justified in the 1980s and 1990s. During these ten years, prominent theorists such as Frith, Middleton, Moore, Shepherd, and Walser have been working on popular music. For example, Middleton (1990) illustrates that popular music should be placed on a different plane, but "as good as" the value of "art music" in the critique of musicology. He has strongly argued that popular music must be understood as a social event of a particular social group. Walser (1993: 34) emphasises that musical analysis of popular music can help us make sense of the "seemingly fragmented modern world." To some extent the 1986 GCSE music syllabus has made significant steps towards redressing the balance between classical and popular music in the valuation of diverse musical styles by the educational establishment in Great Britain. Class music teaching has now placed more emphasis on performance and composition, rather than theory and history of music. Instrumental tuition has become a focus of provision for music, particularly with GCSE students (Davies 1988: 138).[16] Music was also specified to be included in the foundation subjects by the 1988 Education Act in Britain.[17] Between 1991 and 1992, music was admitted to the new National Curriculum framework. This marked a historical entry

of the British educational institution into a centralised system. For the National Curriculum (1992), the attainment targets also require the demonstration of knowledge of an extensive repertoire from a wide range of music styles and periods, drawing from Western and non-Western cultures.[18]

During the 1980s, British and Hong Kong music education had adopted different approaches in their values and content. The European classical tradition was still a highly significant constituent of Hong Kong music education in the 1980s. No theoretical attack was launched against the role of classical music in the Hong Kong music curriculum. Restricting musical meaning within school knowledge and denying the delineated musical meaning outside the dynamic structure of other social institutions has been the outcome of the Hong Kong music education system. In 1983, Hong Kong secondary music education was also moved to a centralised system of having its first music syllabus for junior secondary forms (i.e. Forms 1-3). However, the narrow view as to what "counted" as music within an educational context was still dominated by the European classical tradition, with only an introduction of a small part of traditional Chinese music in the 1983 music syllabus, but with no popular music. The introduction of Chinese music in Hong Kong secondary education was due to the impending return of Hong Kong's sovereignty to the PRC authorities. Music has been used as a socio-political control at the same time as it is presented as "autonomous". During and after the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident, the rise of Chinese democratic popular songs acted as a

confrontation with the official musical knowledge and constituted a "democratic framework". The ideology of delineated musical meaning of Chinese democratic popular songs has been recognised as a challenge to the traditional Western and Chinese music promoted in schools.

The 1990s Hong Kong music curriculum faces challenges not only in the introduction of popular music, but also as a response to social changes to include more Chinese music as a means of working within the political system of mainland China. The form of participatory political culture of Hong Kong has attempted to compromise the British policy of "accommodation of Communism," but does not necessarily lead to the "light of democracy" on music education in the 1990s.

1.5 THE MAIN ARGUMENT AND THE STRUCTURE OF THE CHAPTER CONTENTS OF THE THESIS

The thesis examines the contradictions and changes in the promotion and interpretation of music in the Hong Kong curriculum, tracing the historical context of music education in China and the adoption of British music education traditions during the colonial period in Hong Kong, and assessing the new relevance of traditional and contemporary Chinese music in the curriculum, since the official inauguration of the return of Hong Kong to the PRC in 1984. The thesis, using the case of Hong Kong, argues that music is a socio-political construction which is shaped by the state, as well as market and cultural forces; and that the state is a principal actor in defining the scope and emphasis of the music curriculum in schools. The formal music education system is more "closed" than extreme socio-political

changes, than the overall education system, and than other social institutions in transmitting democracy and political freedom in Hong Kong.

The thesis is divided into four parts. Part One (Socio-political and cultural heritage) traces the socio-political and cultural interactions between China, Britain and Hong Kong in the content of Hong Kong music education between the 1840s and 1980s. Part Two (Impact of the 1984 and 1989 political events) describes the significance of the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration and the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident in respect of the changing socio-political structures, the mediation of music in the social perspective, the overall education system, and formal music education in Hong Kong. Part Three (Tensions of Hong Kong music education) highlights the dilemmas of Hong Kong music education which has been caught in a web of opposing political, cultural and economic struggles. These struggles are also reflected in the analysis of opinions of sixty secondary music teachers by questionnaire-survey. Part Four (Music as social construction) is the conclusion of the thesis.

Chapter Two examines the historical context of both Chinese and Hong Kong music education, arguing that these are political constructions. The governments of Imperial China, contemporary China and Hong Kong played a significant role in determining the scope of the development of music education as a socio-political instrument. The Confucian moral theories of music were used as a political control in constructing a harmonious society dominated by Emperors in China. Since the 1840s, the introduction of the Western style of music education into Mainland China

was a result of military defeats inflicted by Western countries; and into Hong Kong, as a result of colonisation. After the founding of the PRC on October 1, 1949, the composition and development of music education were governed by the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology to convey the political and revolutionary messages of the Chinese government, particularly during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976).[19] In Hong Kong, music education has been colonised by the British administration and has no Chinese or Hong Kong features. Rather, the music curriculum was designed to serve economic and cultural purposes, with an emphasis on singing English songs to improve language proficiency in secondary schools. The development of music education in Hong Kong, therefore, was for political cultural purposes whilst in Mainland China, it was mainly for political purposes.

The core of Chapter Three is a study of the rise of Hong Kong indigenous popular and serious (classical) music outside the school environment as a consequence of localisation after the inauguration of the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration. The formation of indigenous Hong Kong popular culture has been treated as a threat to the traditional Chinese and Western cultures.

The main arguments of Part Two concerning the "closure" of the Hong Kong music education system are developed respectively in Chapter Four and Chapter Five. Chapter Four argues that formal music education in Hong Kong is more "closed" than the socio-political structures and other social institutions such as market-governed, external music production and consumption, in transmitting musical knowledge concerning the advocation

of political pluralism, political freedom and democracy. The mediation of music in the wider social perspective is more "open" than formal music education during the political considerations of the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident and the impending return of Hong Kong's sovereignty to China. The rise of local democratic and political songs acts as an open confrontation with the PRC government; as a compromise with the Hong Kong government; but as a harmony between Hong Kong and Mainland Chinese people.

The argument in Chapter Five is central to the thesis. Chapter Five hypothesises that the formal music education system is more "closed" than the overall education system. Hong Kong's socio-political structure and educational system interacted and changed because of the 1989 political event. The partial decentralisation and localisation of the school curriculum mark a significant step forward in the democratisation of the Hong Kong education system during the preparation for the transfer of Hong Kong's sovereignty to China. However, fewer significant changes have been made in the curriculum of music than in other subjects such as Economics and Public Affairs (EPA), Government and Public Affairs (GPA), Liberal Studies and Chinese History.

Part Three focuses on the tensions of Hong Kong music education during the transitional period. Chapter Six argues that the dilemmas of Hong Kong music education are in tension within the socio-political, cultural and economic arenas in the 1990s. This is framed by the return of Hong Kong's sovereignty to China in 1997. Further complexities arise from

the interactions of politics and cultures between Britain, Mainland China and Hong Kong, as well as economic and educational policies which may contradict or be in tension with each other. These contradictions or tensions have influenced the development of Hong Kong formal music education.

Chapter Seven is an investigation of music teachers' musical preferences and opinions about music education in Hong Kong secondary schools. The survey was planned to find out teachers' ideas and views on the promotion of Western and Chinese "classical" music, Hong Kong "serious" music, "popular" music and other musical types in schools. The inquiry was in the form of postal questionnaires sent to Hong Kong secondary schools. The analysis of the inquiry examines and affirms the main arguments of the thesis. Based on the research results, Chapter Seven argues that the state of Hong Kong/the Hong Kong Education Department is a significant actor in determining the content and musical meaning of British colonial music education. Hong Kong music education has put much emphasis on the understanding of "inherent" musical meaning of Western classical music which has been regarded as the core of school musical knowledge in the curriculum. The autonomy of music is explicitly recognised and delineated musical meaning is controlled by the Hong Kong Education Department.

Finally, Chapter Eight as the conclusion of this thesis suggests that an understanding of music and music education in Hong Kong is enhanced by seeing music as a socio-political construction. The pattern of Hong Kong music education will be explained and identified with reference to the

musical model suggested by the thesis.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF MUSIC EDUCATION IN MAINLAND CHINA AND HONG KONG

2.1 PURPOSE AND ARGUMENT

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the historical context of music education of both Mainland China and Hong Kong. The chapter examines the historical development of music education in China before the 1840s, and in China and Hong Kong between the 1840s and the early 1980s.

The main argument of this chapter is that the states of China and Hong Kong were the agents of cultural transformation in traditional and modern Chinese and Hong Kong music education. Tracing the development of their music education, we find that the governments of Imperial China, contemporary China and Hong Kong played a significant role in determining the content of musical knowledge as a socio-political discipline. The expressed purpose of Chinese music education was to harmonise the government and society; rather than to educate for the sake of music. For the colonial music education in Hong Kong, music was explicitly treated as apolitical but it was implicitly used for political cultural purposes.

This chapter is organised into three parts: traditional Chinese music education; modern Chinese music education; and colonial Hong Kong music education.

2.2 TRADITIONAL CHINESE MUSIC EDUCATION

2.2.1 Confucianism, State and Education

This section attempts to illustrate the practice of the Confucian value system in Imperial China.[20] I argue that Chinese Emperors used the Confucian value system to rationalise the hierarchical Chinese society so as to legitimise their political leadership and to promote socio-political harmony in traditional Chinese ways. Such a value system was reinforced by the traditional classic learning and examinations which were used to educate the people as well as to train officials to serve the Imperial government.

Within the social hierarchy, Confucian teachings were associated with the education of personal and social behaviour. The social hierarchy was characterised by three dimensions: (1) social relations; (2) socio-economic classification; and (3) sexual discrimination against women.

First, the Confucian tradition of state ideology was constructed on the political system and political culture which attempted to shape citizens to be obedient to the state within the "hierarchical family structure of authority" (Chang 1992: 183). The social stratification was believed to sustain morality. Jones (1993: 19) suggests that Confucianism was "a language of moral and political organisation" (also see Bergen & Mi 1995: 41). The distribution of power among people in Imperial China was reflected in the five pairs of human relationships: between sovereign and subject, father and son, elder and younger, husband and wife, and friend and friend. The first-pair relation was dynastic; the last one was social; and

the other three were familial. The only non-hierarchical interaction was between all citizens that Confucius called "friends." Mencius[21], the leading exponent of the teachings of Confucius, even developed a moral code for each paired relationship: righteousness between the ruler and subject, affection between father and son, attention to their separate functions between husband and wife, a proper order between the old and the young and fidelity between friends (Legge 1970: 251-252). According to Confucians, the harmony of Imperial China and the socio-political status quo would be preserved if the existing order of "superordination and subordination" among the five relationships was maintained by the people (Kim 1979: 21). Confucianism stressed two great moral rules - filial piety to parents and loyalty to the emperor - that would distinguish the performance of people in the socio-political identity of Imperial China. Tsang (1968: 6) suggested that this kind of relationship was the "champion of familism and feudalism" (also see Wei 1993: 73). Thus Hirano (1993: 22) argues that social order in Imperial China was upheld basically "in accordance with Confucian ethics, not with the law."

Second, Confucius classified people according to their socio-economic status in traditional Chinese society. The socio-economic hierarchy from the top began: scholar-officials, farmers, artisans, and merchants. According to Mencius, people were classified into two groups: mental and manual labourers. He said, "some labour with their mind, and some with their strength." The mental labourers were intellectuals who formed only a small proportion of the population. The status of scholar-officials or intellectuals

was reflected in an old Chinese saying, "the pursuit of knowledge is superior to all the other occupations" (Wu, Chen & Wu 1989: 125). Intellectuals became the elite class and played a significant role in society. Thus, teachers enjoyed a prestigious status and were listed as one of the five respected beings, next to the god of heaven, the god of the earth, the emperor and the parents.

Third, Confucian culture emphasised male supremacy and women were discriminated against in traditional Chinese society.[22] There is an old Chinese principle, "Men are superior, women are inferior." Women were confined to the household, learned to be modest, listened to and obeyed the men. Women were separated into the domestic sphere. Women were required to observe "Three Obediences": to their fathers before marriage; to their husbands after marriage; and to their sons after their husbands' death. Although Confucius agreed that education should be open to all (for males only), schooling for girls was restricted. Girls had less opportunity to learn. Sexual discrimination against women was demonstrated in Confucian education.[23] According to Confucius (B.C. 500), music was one of the six arts to be learned and Confucius introduced his own songs with musical instruments for boys to study. When boys were thirteen, they had to learn the art of music and to read poetry. Thus women's education (including music education) was underdeveloped in China and women learned mainly domestic duties.

The Confucian concepts of a hierarchial society and imperial rule were reinforced by civil service examinations which were used to recruit

scholars to work for the government. Confucius emphasised that "people are the foundation of the state, when the foundation is solid, there is a stable state" (Tseng 1981: 22). In order to win the support of people, the government must educate and train scholars to work for Imperial China so that people could be governed. People could get access to official government positions (the highest status in society) by passing public examinations. The contents of Imperial examinations were Confucian messages outlined in the Four Books and the Five Classics[24] which were standard texts. The learning activities in the traditional Chinese educational system were examination orientated. The central focus of the curriculum was placed on the people's activities in politics and education. The Confucian rule of the mandarinate, "produced an imperial bureaucracy accordingly in which human relations counted for more than the network of abstract assignments" (Levenson 1964: 262). As a result, Confucianism, "as the officially sanctioned political ideology," and with the help of civil service examinations,"conditioned and controlled, the minds of the rulers and the ruled alike" (Wang 1989: 2).

For thousands of years, Confucianism permeated the Han[25] Chinese culture which stressed the achievement of social harmony through the practice of individual moral conduct in a hierarchial society. Scholars were highly regarded people in Imperial China which advocated consensus politics. They in turn promoted the Confucian idealistic notion of knowledge which helped consolidate the leadership of rulers.

2.2.2 Socio-political Contexts of Traditional Chinese Music[26]

2.2.2.1 Musical functions at the personal, social, political and philosophical levels

This section describes the Confucian moral theories of music which were exercised on personal, social, political and philosophical levels reflected in the values of music education in Imperial China.[27] This section argues that traditional Chinese music was used as an important means to maintain social and political stability and that the concepts of individualism and democracy were not promoted.

The rationale for Chinese music education adhered to the discipline of moral education as a way of encouraging people to conform to more virtuous living. This was the reason why Confucius gave priority to the arts, not only of Music, but also of Rites, Archery, Charioteering, Writing and Numbers.[28] The traditional social categories of Chinese music were classified into three main types: "refined music" (Yayue or "cultivated music", which was the formal or official music of the court and indigenous to the Han civilisation); "popular music" (Suyue or "uncultivated music"); and "foreign music" (Huyue or "barbarian music")[29]. Among them, "refined music" was highly valued in the Imperial China music education system. "Refined music" was confined to the refinement of human spirits in individual, family and society.

At the personal level, Chinese music and rites formed the basis of self-control, and music was believed to improve the behaviour of people. Music was in parallel with ritual in Imperial China. DeWoskin (1982:

174&175) asserts that music and ritual had "shared values" and their roles were significant in the "achievement of the ideal life and the ideal state of mind". According to Hon (1979: 25), "while ritual controlled a scholar's emotions, music was supposed to harmonise them." Through the interactions of ritual and music, the personality of a scholar came to be perfect. Confucius said, "One is aroused by the songs, established by ritual and perfected by music" (Thomas 1981: 36).

At the social level, emperors of Imperial China also used music to promote social harmony in a hierarchical society. The "Record of Rites" (*Liji*) noted that, "the gentleman of the ancient times did not indicate his socio-political position in words, but by his manners and the music entitled to him" (Liang 1985: 55). In terms of family harmony, Confucian ethics in Chinese music can be seen in the functions of indigenous musical instruments. The *Shijing* says of a happy marriage, "Good harmony between wife and husband is like playing the Se and Qin"[30] (Kaufmann 1976: 196). These two zithers were considered as a metaphor of family unit as well as social order. "Qin and Se blend harmoniously" means that a husband and wife have a happy married life. "Qin and Se do not blend", means the relationship has come apart (Thrasher 1980: 41). The Confucian social value of music stressed the bonds of kinship and social stability. Music was considered in traditional Chinese society as one of the four fundamental societal functions together with morals, law and politics. Because of the close association with the stable, conservative elements in Confucian society, music was thought of more in terms of ethics than

aesthetics. This phenomenon reflects what Gulik (1969: 27) says: "In the well-governed Confucianist state, music meant for pleasure, does not exist."

At the political level, music was used to stabilise the imperial rule. Music was linked to state affairs as a key component in the service of politics. Music was regarded as a symbol of a good emperor and stable government. Confucius said, "If one should desire to know whether a kingdom is well governed, if its morals are good or bad, the quality of its music will furnish the answer" (Tame 1986: 345). Thus, Confucians incorporated Chinese "refined" music (Yayue) into moral education. In a narrow sense, Chinese "refined" music denoted ceremonial music which formed an integral part of state rituals of the ruling monarch. In a broader sense yayue denoted music cultivated by the educated elite. No matter whether an emperor liked music or not, he had to understand, emphasise and promote music because music could help govern his people. Confucius affirms that "one may occupy the throne, but if he has not the proper virtue, he may not dare to make ceremonies or music. One may have the virtue, but if he did not occupy the throne, he may not presume to make ceremonies or music" (Confucian Analects: 28.4; translated by James Legge 1971: 424).

Mencius suggested that the emperor could share his people's music and the enjoyment with the people (Mencius:16.1, translated by Thomas 1981: 35). He threw light upon the delineated musical meanings of refined and popular music. Once a king expressed his anxiety about his love and appreciation of the popular music of the day and felt embarrassed not

loving the music of the ancient times. Mencius's response was typical: it did not matter what kind of music the King enjoyed as long as he shared his music/enjoyment with the people (*Mencius* 1b.1 in Dawson 1981:34-35). According to Thrasher (1980: 26), David Liang notes that the government also took an interest in studying the Suyue ("popular music") because it was believed to be a voice of the people. During the Han Dynasty (200 B.C. - 220 A.D.), the "Office of Music" had to collect folk, country songs or other popular songs (i.e. uncultivated music). The lyrics of folk and popular songs were also believed to reveal the life of the people. Songs of complaint might indicate the unpopularity of the dynasty or emperor. Music, "refined" and "popular", was equivalent to the "harmony" of the government's effort to secure its rule.

However, music was forbidden to be used in Imperial China as a means of revolution against political leaders and the government. Falkenhausen (1993) recognised that the rulers of Imperial China established a unified and standard system for pitches which carried a political role in regulating human relationships. For example, the Music Office of the Zhou Dynasty (1122 - 221 B.C.) promoted the Yayue ("refined music") and kept a standard pitch among different areas in the kingdom. Thrasher (1980: 43) cites a saying in *Yueji* about ritual and Chinese music: "If there is an excessive number of [ceremonial] forms, then chaos will prevail; if there is excessive [musical] invention, then violence will prevail." The task of instituting a correct measurement system of pitch standards, as noted by Falkenhausen (1993:316), had the "highest moral

and political priority" in Imperial China. In order to render the Empire stable, the idea of individualism and social change were discouraged and social harmony was stressed through keeping the same musical system. Musical content and style had to be united so that the revolution of society could be controlled.

Moreover, Chinese music was associated with rituals to bring human beings into contact with the harmony of the universe. Lai and Mok (1981: 35) note that music was regarded as "a means to counteract supernatural forces" in ancient China.[31] The Confucian conception of music was in relation not only to virtue but also to nature. As cited by Romain (1968: 56), Granet asserts that "music creates a harmonious union between heaven and earth; rites provoke good order in heaven and on earth.[32] Harmonious music was seen as an accomplishment between Heaven and Earth; whilst rites were the measurement of Heaven and Earth. Perfection in the rites puts an end to quarrel and rebellion. Music and rites were viewed as pathways to human perfection, bringing human beings in pitch with the cosmic harmonies.

To conclude, the functions of music in Imperial China were to serve as a means of expression and/or an essential of self-control, an integral part of social events such as rituals, an agent of political control, and euphony of the universe in traditional China.

2.2.2.2 The institutions of music education

This section describes the institutionalisation of the transmission of

Confucianism in classical music education. In particular, it highlights the musical institutions and curricula of the most important dynasties in Imperial China.

The ancient dynasties of Shang (16th-11th Centuries B.C.) and Zhou (1075-256 B.C.) represented the most formative period in Chinese music and music education. The Office of the Grand Music Master was set up to formalise the music educational structure in the Zhou Dynasty. Under the administration of the Grand Music Master, the office was an enormous organisation of educational and performing music institutions including 22 offices and 1,339 administrators, music specialists, chronicler-historians, clerks, teachers and students (Liang 1985: 63). The feudal rank was determined by the size and type of orchestra, the quality of instruments, and also the kinds of music performed. The music education system offered nine-year courses. It started at the age of thirteen for males. The teaching content included the *Book of Poetry* (Shī), the *Book of Documents* (Shū), the *Record of Rites* (Lǐ), the *Classic of Music* (Yuè) which were reportedly written by Confucius. The academic year was divided into four seasons. The teaching content in Spring and Autumn terms were rites and music; and in Winter and Summer terms, poetry and documents. The assessment of musical achievement was divided into four grades: grade one for first-year students, grade two for third-year students, grade three for fifth-year students and grade four for seventh-year students. Students would graduate at the age of twenty-one. Examinations were taken at the end of the year for Grade-one students. Above Grade two, students had to

take biannual examinations.

During the Han Dynasty (200 B.C. - 220 A.D.), the Chinese name for the Music Bureau (or "Office of Music") was *Yueh Fu* which was established by Emperor Wudi. The orchestra played in the Han courts and banquets were quite big, including string and wind players and a backing of percussions. The layout of the Chinese orchestra was similar to the Western symphony orchestra (Malm 1977: 152). Promoting the performing arts activities was regarded as the main function of the "Music Bureau". The "Music Bureau" also had to collect folk and country songs (i.e. uncultivated music), rearrange their tunes to existing texts or set new texts to existing folk tunes, and plan the music performances of the court. The Office consisted of 800 teachers, musicologists, song writers, producers, musicians, dancers, instrument makers, etc. (Liang 1985: 79) Offices for foreign music were also established on the subject of "music of the barbarians". This began the incorporation of foreign music at the imperial court.

The culture of the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.) has been described as a "golden age" in Chinese history and both Chinese and foreign music were promoted. According to Liang (1985: 104), four court institutions were established for performing arts in the Tang Dynasty: "Grand Music Bureau" (*Gayueshu)*, "Drum and Wind Music Bureau" *(Guchuishu)*, "House of Precepts" *(Jiaofang)*, "Pear Garden Orchestra and Chorus" (*Liyuan*). The *Jiaofang* was the biggest performing institution in the court and it was the Academy of Performing Arts including music, dance, comedy-drama and acrobatics for court entertainment. Chinese music education was associated

with officialdom. Professional musicians had to take fifteen years to get through seven intermediate states and five advanced examinations (Liang 1985: 104)). Once the trainees had passed these examinations and managed fifty advanced level pieces, they were qualified to obtain a music post in court.

During the Sung Dynasty (960 - 1279 A.D.), the *Ta Ch'eng Yueh Fu* proclaimed its new music to Imperial China in 1107.[33] A school was formed to institute the new official music of the court. The development of printing in the Sung Dynasty helped the transmission of written music in Chinese history. Some limited music notation and treatises such as the "Treatise of Music" which was written by Chen Yang, survived in printed form (Liang 1985: 115-6). According to Malm (1977: 158), there were two kinds of drama in the Sung Dynasty, namely the southern and northern styles, representing the southern and northern schools. The southern school preferred the pentatonic scale with an emphasis on flute accompaniment, whereas the northern one used a seven-tone scale and the pipa. The Sung period was said to be a mid-point in the musical transformation to modern Chinese music.

In 1279 A.D., the Mongols conquered China and overthrew the Sung Dynasty. They became the first foreign rulers in China and established the Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368 A.D.). The introduction of Mongol lutes and percussion instruments, as noted by Malm (1977: 158), was an important contribution to Chinese opera in the succeeding the Yuen Dynasty. The emphasis of musical development in the Yuan Dynasty was on vocal music,

rather than instrumental music. Liang (1985: 116) asserts that the concept of "people's music" was a characteristic of the Sung and Yuen Dynasties, particularly the vocal musical genre. This was due to the urbanisation of Chinese society leading to the foundation of a new style in popular music, drama and literature. The popular song genres were believed to be representative of the Sung and Yuan Dynasties' musical language.

During the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1911) Dynasties, people enjoyed extensive periods of widespread musical activities. The Ming-Qing period is highlighted in the whole continuum of Chinese music. The greatest emperor of the Qing Dynasty was Ch'ien Lung (ruler from 1736 to 1796) who had a passion for all the arts. He edited the great musical work called *Lu Lu Cheng Yi* with a supplement *Hsu P'ien*. Wiant (1966: 55) describes this work as a "carefully prepared commentary on music" which "controlled musical affairs until 1911." Music education was also promoted to rearrange or set the texts for "uncultivated music", train music students to work for the court as well as organise the orchestra for ceremonies, etc. (Ho 1965: 102-105). Both "refined" and "unrefined" or "uncultivated" music were developed and used in the imperial court.

This section has described some relations between the function of music, politics and music education and explained the role of music education and its importance in the most important dynasties of Imperial China i.e. from the Zhou Dynasty (1075-256 B.C.) to the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911 A.D.). The government of Imperial China adopted the Confucian view of music education which served as a slogan for the institution of

Chinese social and political life to consolidate the rule of Emperors in Imperial China. Music education was regarded as a controlling factor in harmonising human beings into the well-ordered Confucian society.

2.3 MODERN CHINESE MUSIC EDUCATION (1911-1984)

2.3.1 The "Open-door" Policy towards Western Music: 1911-1949

This section describes the conflicts existing in a juxtaposition of Western and Eastern institutions. It argues that the incorporation of the Western style of music teaching did not necessarily mean the synthesis of China's value system with the Western value system in contemporary Chinese music education. During the 1910s and 1920s under the influx of Western music, struggles for nationalism existed in music education in Mainland China.

2.3.1.1 East meets West

The Chinese word for China, *Zhongguo* means middle kingdom. The Chinese word for foreign country, *waiguo*, literally means uncivilised nations. The idiomatic translation of the word foreign, from a Chinese perspective, is barbarian. The traditional Chinese culture had been isolated because of its geographical condition: surrounded by mountains in the west and besieged by sea in the east. China had long regarded itself as the "centre of the world." Kim (1979: 19-21) notes that "geography barriers" surrounding China reduced the contacts between Chinese and foreign cultures; and that no vital civilisation in Asia could compete with the

Chinese culture.

Despite its geographical condition, China was influenced by other foreign cultures fusing together throughout the centuries. Li (1991: 209) claims that Chinese music has been "a record of multiple influences, exchange and assimilation of musical cultures from other peoples" in its historical development. For instance, Confucianism regarded the *pipa*, the pear-shaped lute, as a "barbarian" instrument which was introduced into Chinese instrumental ensembles. Before the twentieth century, the integration of music of different regions and nationalities took shape within the continent of China: the "Silk Road" in the Han and Tang dynasties of China activated the exchange of music between China and the "West Regions" which were the countries in Central Asia, and between China and Iran - Ancient Persia (Zhang 1991: 407). These regions covered India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Turkey, the Soviet Union, Japan, Korea and Burma.[34] During the Tang and Sung dynasties (7th - 10th c.), the court had nine or ten ensembles, including ensembles from India, Turkestan, Turfan samarkhand, and Bukhara (see Han and Mark 1980: 15). In the Tang Dynasty court, there was ten performance styles or divisions, of which seven were foreign, e.g. for India, Korea and the Central Asian kingdoms (Liang 1985: 29).

Another intercultural reception of music was effected by Roman Catholic priests and Protestant missionaries who brought European music to China. These missionaries were believed to be the earliest teachers in teaching Western music of choral playing and harmonium playing in China

(Scott 1963: 130). In particular, the Protestant missionaries introduced congregational hymn singing to China in the nineteenth century. Hong Xiu-quan (1814-1968), the leader of the Taiping Revolution (1851-1864),[35] became acquainted with various features of Protestant ritual under the influence of a Baptist minister from Missouri. Among the hymns Hong learned was "Old Hundred" which he later adopted, with a new text, as the state hymn of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom (Wong 1984: 113).

Since the 1840s, Chinese music has been influenced by Western countries. In the following sections, the writer will discuss indicators for the incorporation of Western musical learning. These have included the influence of Western music on Chinese music education, Chinese musicians studying abroad, and the establishment of Western musical institutions in China.

2.3.1.1.1 The influence of Western music

During the later nineteenth century, Chinese music was broadened to include Western music owing to military defeats by the West and Japan.[36] Chinese intellectuals and leaders recognised that the Confucian approaches to government and education were no longer adequate to save the country. These leaders thought that science, technology, political institutions and educational developments should be borrowed from the West, whilst they maintained their traditional ideology and social foundations at the same time. This marked the end of China as an independent civilisation.

The development of East-West cultural interactions in Chinese music

education reached its culmination in the early 1920s. *An Exhortation to Learning*, published in 1903, pointed out the dualistic policy of the combination of Western and Chinese learning, translated as "Chinese learning as principle and Western learning as practice" (in Tsang 1968: 215-6). Cài Yuán-péi (1867-1940), the first Minister of Education of the 1911 Republican China, acknowledged the integrity and uniqueness of each culture and he suggested that Western cultures could be assimilated into Chinese culture. Cài also noted that education should "emphasise ethical education, supplemented with utilitarian education and military education, and completed with aesthetic education."[37] Later he attempted to relate Chinese Republican education to the six arts of classical Chinese education of the Zhou Dynasty (1075 - 256 B.C.) and to Western education. To Cài, aesthetic education aimed at the provision of a moral basis for society.[38] Cài declared that music was a means to accelerate the development of culture and Western music was adopted to improve the development of Chinese music. In August 1917, Cài wrote an article on *Yin Chēng Niàn* (The New Youth) to promote aesthetic education to replace religion (Wǔ 1990: 28). Like Cài, Xiāo Yǒu-méi (1884-1940) who studied at the Leipzig Conservatory in Germany, played an important role in the promotion of Western musical learning in China and opened up the improvement of Chinese music by borrowing Western elements, particularly in the theory of composition. Xiāo was a distinguished composer, music educator, music theorist as well as musical practitioner, and he was honoured as the "father of the contemporary Chinese music education."[39]

2.3.1.1.2 *Exchange of musicians*

The second indicator reflecting the incorporation of Western learning into the music education system in Mainland China was the exchange of musicians. Zhang (1991: 411) notes that "the introduction of Western music into China and the exchange between Western and Chinese music represent the irresistible historical trend favorable to people which no one can change or stop."

In the late nineteenth century, the Qing Government began to send students abroad to receive education in military training, maritime affairs, sciences and manufacturing. The sending of Chinese students to Western countries started in Yung Wing with a band of thirty young boys visiting the United States of America in 1872 (Tsing Hua College 1917: i).

Before and after the founding of the Republic of China in 1911, Chinese musicians were also sent to Japan, France and America to study Western music. However, only male music students were sent abroad by the government to receive Western music educational training.[40] According to Tsing Hua College (1917), only four female musicians studied in the United States of America on the basis of private support from the 1900s to the mid-1910s.[41] The government did not financially support female musicians to receive music education overseas. Female education was restricted and music education for women education was underdeveloped before WWII.[42]

After the Russian Revolution in 1917 thousands of Russians including Aaron Avshalomov and Alexander Tcherepnin[43] went to Mainland China

and gave piano or violin lessons to young bourgeois Chinese. In particular, Alexander Tcherepnin served as a consultant to the Ministry of Education in China in 1934.

As a result, the western style[44]of music education and institutions was introduced into China with the help of the foreign trained Chinese musicians or music educators as well as Western musicians.

2.3.1.1.3 Establishment of Western music institutions and their curricula

The third indicator reflecting the incorporation of Western musical learning into the Chinese music education system was the establishment of Western music institutions at the primary, secondary and higher education levels in Mainland China.

At the primary and secondary levels, "Japanese school songs" and songs from Western Europe and America were adopted as teaching materials in China.[45] The earliest Western music education songs, named "Chinese school songs" (Xuetang yuege), originated from "Japanese school songs" (Syŏka)[46], were established at the beginning of the twentieth century. Luo (1991: 11) identifies the "Chinese school songs" as a "new cultural phenomenon" to China as well as a "double cultural contact" between the Western, Japanese and Chinese cultures in the early twentieth century. He accounts for the birth of "Chinese school songs" as a result of the "reception of Western culture through Japan" (1991:12). Shěn Xīn-Gōng (1869-1947) and Lǐ Shū-tóng (1880-1942) were the first Chinese composers who had

synthesised the Western ("European Japanese") songs with the Chinese folk songs in the style of marching.

At the turn of the twentieth century, one of the most famous "Xuetang" songs was *Mianxue* (Encouraging Learning) which was basically in imitation of a heavy Western marching style (Liang 1985: 139). Singing lessons were encouraged to cultivate the spirit of the children. In 1903, Zhāng Zhí-dōng set school regulations and suggested singing lessons as a compulsory subject in schools.[47] The songs were full of revolutionary elements, propaganda for democracy, equality, individual freedom and even women's liberation. In 1907, music was firstly introduced to teachers' training schools for females and primary schools for girls. In 1909, music lessons were also implemented in boys schools in China (Zhāng 1990: 440). In November 1921, music became a compulsory subject for primary education. In 1922, the China government attempted to design the music syllabuses for primary and secondary schools. In June 1926, Zhū Sū-diǎn edited and the Shanghai Chinese Bookshop printed the "*Chinese Music Textbook*" (Zhōnghuà Jiàokēshù Yīnyuè Jiàoběn) for junior primary schools. In 1932, the Education Department set up the "Music Teaching Materials Editing Council" for primary schools (Lìn 1981: 91-92). In 1934, the Committee of Music Education was established to plan for the primary and secondary teaching materials (Zhāng 1990: 445). Moreover, Húang Zī (1904-1938),[48] a Chinese music educator and composer, with other composers were requested to edit a set of music books, named "*Renascent Junior Secondary Music Textbooks*" (Fùxīng Chūjí Zhōngxué Yīnyuè

Jiàkēshū) in June 1933 and six sets of music textbooks were published in October 1939.[49]

At the higher education level, music education of Mainland China was developed by those intellectuals who were trained in Western countries, as well as by foreign missionaries. They called for a critical re-evaluation of China's cultural heritage in the light of Western standards.[50] With the support of the Minister of Education, Cài Yuán-péi, they advocated education and science to save the country. Thus the western style of music education has flourished since the 1910s. In 1916, Cái founded the "Music Research Society" in the University of Beijing. Xiāo Yǒu-méi taught music history and harmony whilst Yàn Zhòng-zǐ, a graduate of Switzerland Conservatory, taught piano in the University. Other teaching staff from the Western countries also offered instruction in Western vocal and instrumental music. In 1927, the first National Shanghai Conservatory of Music was established with an education system imitating that of America and Europe.[51] Cài Yuán-péi was honorary director and Xiāo Yǒu-méi was the principal of the Shanghai Conservatory. The Shanghai Conservatory served as a model for the other music institutions in later periods. In the same year of the establishment of the Conservatory, music departments were set up in Yàn Jīng University, Hù Jiāng University, Jīn Líng Women College of Arts and Science, and the Institute of Education of Zhōng Yāng University.[52]

However, Chinese music has been criticised for being changed by the Western music system and for the loss of its own cultural identity bearing

the character of "Chinese music" since the beginning of the twentieth century. Chinese music students were criticised as "western musicians with yellow faces and dark hair". Liang (1985: 137) makes the comment that "the early attempts at Westernising or modernising Chinese music were .... a superficial imitation of Western styles." Timothy Richard (1907: 3) claims that Chinese music has been "hopelessly lost" like that of Babylon, Egypt and Greece. Chinese music was accused of neglecting "the protection of traditional Chinese music culture" and not preserving "the tradition faithfully in accordance with its original state" (Shen 1991: 165). Contemporary Chinese music was criticised as being understandable only in terms of the Western music systems. The influence of Western music has upset the balance between the development of Chinese and Western music.

2.3.1.2 Nationalism in Mainland China: the development of protest songs and national anthems from the May 4th Movement to the end of the Civil War in China in 1949

Confronting the infiltration of foreign culture after China's military defeat by Western countries and Japan in the 1890s (i.e. the first Sino-Japanese War), protest songs were composed and promoted as propaganda for the anti-foreign movement in China. The Boxer Uprising[53] turned against foreign aggression in 1900. However, the Republic of China was set up by Dr Sun Sen-Yet in 1911 and China had a close relationship with the West again. After the establishment of the Republic of China in 1911, national ceremonial music was composed. A Commission on music education was formed to provide proper music for schools, civic and national gatherings

(Wiant 1966: 65). When World War 1 broke out in 1914, Japan was on the allied side. Japan seized Qingdao from German control in the Shangtung Province in northern China. Japan also forced China to accept the Twenty-one Demands in 1915.[54] Immediately, the Chinese people expressed their anger in demonstrations, protests and strikes.

During the 1910s, Chinese songs were written to denounce the Japanese aggression and the weak central government as part of the protest. The musical style of these songs were centred on political issues and might be regarded as the "predecessors of the later political songs - known as Revolutionary Songs, or 'Songs for the Masses' which were developed by the Chinese Communists" (Wong 1992: 74). In 1917, China joined the First World War and declared war on Germany in order to get back Shangtung province. Nevertheless, the Versailles Peace Conference of 1919 decided that the province of Shangtung was to be conceded to the Japanese. Protest songs denouncing the Conference and Western and Japanese imperialism were popular in China. Political activities such as strikes and demonstrations led to the 1919 May 4th movement in China which directly affected the development of contemporary Chinese music. The end of the First World War and the occurrence of the 1919 May 4th Movement, which advocated the use of Chinese vernacular language as a written medium of communication in all areas, influenced the development of Chinese literature and music. The prevailing aspect of the 1919 May 4th Movement brought about an attack upon Confucian values by Chinese intellectuals. Chinese musicians had a new vision to introduce nationalism

in the struggle for "democracy" in their music by making use of Western composing skills and methods.

After the 1919 May 4th Movement, Chinese music was described as "new music" in the areas of new styles, new contents, new systems for music education and new musical life styles (Lì 1992: 22). According to Wǔ (1990: 27), "In order to reflect the image of society, nationalism and patriotism were encouraged to create a new culture of Chinese music" (translated by Ho Wai-chung). The emphasis on national characteristics in Chinese music has been a phenomenon in music composition when composers began to be aware of cultural differences in music.

Since the 1920s, protest songs were highly developed in China. The causes for the development of protest songs included: (1) the influence of political activities; (2) the growth of economic activities, particularly film production; and (3) the production of Chinese composers.

Firstly, the 1919 May 4th Movement protest songs were further developed by the communist movement during the 1920s. Protest songs or revolutionary songs played an important part in Communist propaganda and were recognised as a means of political activity. Mao Zedong incorporated singing sessions in his thirteen-week seminar for a peasant movement in Canton in July 1924. In 1926, the Chinese Communist Party published a song handbook called Geming geli (Collection of Songs for Revolution), edited by Li Qiushi. In 1928, songs were also introduced to help train the cadres of the Fourth Army of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants Red Amy. In 1929, Mao called for formal inclusion of the

revolutionary songs in the training programme for cadres and soldiers and a committee was established to "produce appropriate songs".[55] These protest songs, with Chinese texts, were mostly copied from the tunes of Russian songs.

Secondly, economic growth in China gave birth to modern Chinese popular music in the 1920s. By the 1920s, there were over a hundred companies producing films in Shanghai. Many films integrated music or songs and were "melodramas", dealing with contemporary social issues such as the status of women, the defence against Japanese aggression, etc (Manuel 1988: 224). These songs were disseminated at rallies and through the mass media (mostly cinema and radio) in the cities, whilst songs were spread orally in the countryside (ibid: 224-5). In particular, when the Japanese occupied the territories of Shanghai in 1941, there was an order from the Japanese, "All English popular songs were not allowed to be broadcast in Shanghai" (Liáng 1992: 5; translated by Ho Wai-chung). Consequently, with the blooming of the film business, the year of 1941 marked the historical development of Mandarin popular music in China and Mandarin film songs became the dominant entertainment in Shanghai after 1941 (ibid: 5-6).

Thirdly, the cultivation of protest songs was widely promoted by Chinese musicians. The themes of Mandarin popular songs were based on patriotic sentiments against the Japanese aggression. In the 1930s and 1940s, there were three most significant Chinese composers - Niè Er (1912-1935), Xiān Xīng-hǎi (1905-1945), and Zhào Yuán-rèn (1892-1982) - who

made use of the tunes of national style and made contributions to the achievements of new Chinese music.[56]

Originally self-taught, Niè studied violin and composition with Russian instructors at the Shanghai Conservatory. He joined the Communist Party in 1933 and dedicated a lot of his time to composing patriotic songs which were propagated as a protest against the Japanese (Wong 1984: 123). Between 1932 and 1935, Niè composed more than thirty songs, mostly for films. Tian Han, a modern Chinese playwright, wrote lyrics for Niè's film music, particularly with political slogans. Niè's famous songs, including "Doker's song" and "Female Singer under Cruel Oppression" were the representative works of new Chinese music. His most famous song was "March of the Volunteers" which originated the theme song for a patriotic film named "Children of the Storm" (Fēngyún Érnü).[57] This song was very popular in the war years and was later adopted as the national anthem of the People's Republic of China.

Unlike Niè, Xiăn Xīng-hăi and Zhào Yuán-rèn were western trained composers and wrote a lot of songs carrying didactic messages. Xiăn studied at the Paris Conservatory from 1930 to 1935. He also wrote songs attacking Japan. In 1936, Xiăn finished writing 300 patriotic songs, and some of them, as Xian claimed, only took him 5 or 6 minutes to compose (Wong 1984: 124). In 1939, Xiàn also wrote large-scale works, such as the celebrated "Yellow River Cantata" (Huanghe Dahechang) for mixed chorus by using an orchestra combining Western and Chinese instruments (Wong 1984: 125).[58] Wong (1984: 125) notes that the "Yellow River Cantata" is a

"milestone in contemporary Chinese music" and the "most convincing synthesis of Western and Chinese musical idioms."

Zhào Yuán-rèn, a Chinese-American composer and linguist, made a significant attempt in his composition to create melodies and harmony in Chinese national style to suit the Chinese linguistic characteristics (Zhang 1991: 408). Zhao composed more than 100 songs and a number of piano pieces. His most famous songs included "Ascending the Mountain", "How can I stop thinking of him", "Drinking song", "The awakening lion roars", "Resistance", "Self-defence", and "We don't buy Japanese goods".

The growth of nationalism in music education in Mainland China was further reinforced by the military invasion by foreign countries in WWII. During the eight-year anti-Japanese War against Japan (i.e.1937-1945) and the four-year Civil War (1945-1949), the development of the Western style of music education was negatively affected in most parts of Mainland China. Nonetheless, anti-war and patriotic songs were encouraged and used as teaching materials. According to Kwok (1987: 32), the Western diatonic tonal system had influenced the melodies of Chinese folk songs which supplemented new teaching materials in schools against Japanese aggression during the 1930s and 1940s. Moreover, the Ministry of Education of Mainland China set up syllabuses for music education in primary and secondary schools, sent music officers to observe music lessons, wrote both Chinese and English versions of the "Collections of Anti-War Songs" and trained pupils to sing the "Choral Work for Thousands of People". Consequently, singing anti-war songs became significant musical

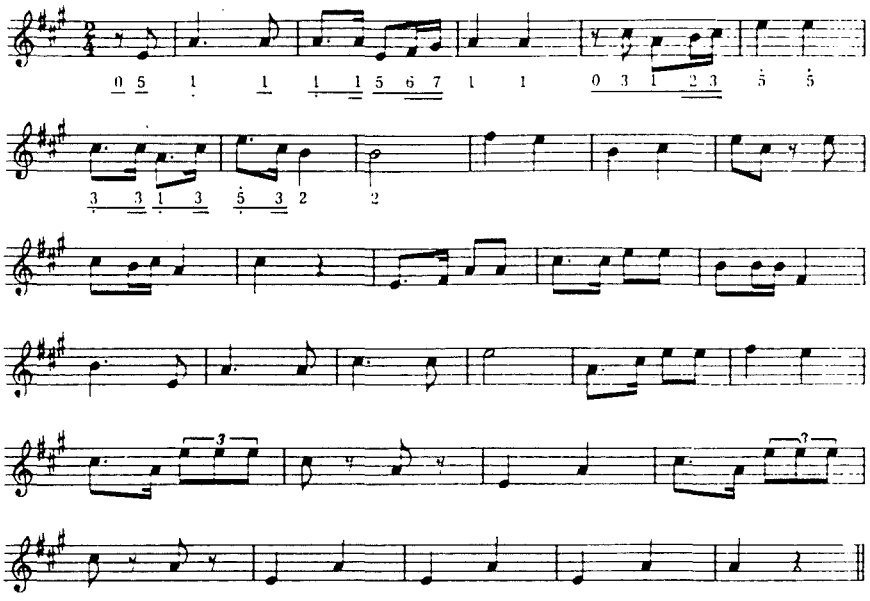
activities from 1937-1945.

The nationalistic musical style was also found in the national anthems. According to Wiant (1966: 56), there have been two official national anthems since 1911; one in 1911 and the other in 1928.[59] On November 24, 1919, the Education Department requested the National Council to allow a "National Anthems Society" to be set up and employed people to discuss and write a national anthem for China. Chén Zhòng-zǐ, a member of the "National Anthem Society", emphasised that the national flag and the national anthem were both equally important (Qín 1990: 86). In 1930, the Nationalist government used the official national anthem of the party as the national anthem of China (Wiant 1966: 57 & Qín 1990: 87).[60] By singing the national anthems, the Republic hoped the national spirit could penetrate the life of the people.

When Mao Zedong officially proclaimed the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC) on October 1, 1949, education continued to be an instrument for the transmission of new beliefs and values to build a socialist revolutionary society. Owing to the special relationship between the Soviet Union and China, Chinese musicians were sent to the Soviet Union and other countries in Eastern Europe. On September 26, 1949, Niè Er's song "Marching Song of the Volunteers" was chosen as the national anthem of the PRC and this anthem had absorbed the characteristics of European revolutionary songs (see example 2.1).

Example 2.1 The national anthem of the People's Republic of China

Example 2.1 **The national anthem of the People's Republic of China**



From Malm, William (1977) *Music Cultures of the Pacific: The Near East and Asia*, 2nd Edition, Englewood, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc, p.169.

As analysed by Malm (1977: 167), the Chinese national anthem begins with the "Western five-line notation". Malm notes that the first four bar phrase is in major-mode and with the leading note G#. However, he recognises that the melody becomes progressively more Chinese in character, "with a pentatonic scale, varying phrase lengths, different rhythmic patterns" (1977: 168). Malm also emphasises that this Western style of composition can be found in modern Beijing operatic and orchestral works. Wong (1984: 123) notes that the lyrics of "March of the Volunteers" were "clearly enunciated" and this song was particularly suitable for "mass movements" (for the translation of the song, see Appendix Two).

In summary, during the first half of the twentieth century, Chinese music education was under the influence of Japan, Western countries, Soviet Russia as well as other Eastern European countries. The first phase was the introduction of Japanese school songs with Chinese texts in the 1910s. The second phase was the 1919 May Fourth Movement which gave a new impetus to Chinese musicians to enrich Chinese music by making use of Western composing techniques, skills and methods in the 1920s. During and after the 1920s, Chinese music was influenced by other communist Eastern European countries to embody the political/revolutionary ideology in its music.

2.3.2 Stage of Revolution in China: 1949-1970s

The Ministry of Education was set up immediately after the establishment of the PRC. The First National Conference on Education was organised by the ministry in December 1949. Ma Xulun, the Minister of Education, delivered his opening speech for the conference and defined the education of the PRC as "national, scientific, and mass oriented":

> The tasks of education were to raise people's literacy level, to train personnel for economic development, and to fight imperialism, feudalism, and capitalism. Our education should serve workers and peasants, with emphasis on cultural education, political education, technological education. (in Shen 1994: 2)

Thus music and other arts were governed by Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology and were required to serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers as well as to convey the messages of the government in communist China.[61]

Communist China introduced a strong revolutionary orientation as political propaganda in the development of music. After 1949, music in schools "was and is ever didactic", sharing similarities with other aspects of Chinese education (Perris 1983: 13). Rules of conduct such as "Love the motherland, the people and the Communist Party of China. Do homework conscientiously.....Keep clothes tidy and clean. Do not spit....." were set to music to improve students' attitudes towards China (*Beijing Review*, December 7, 1981, p.22). Communist China sent a group of "politically reliable" students and party members from diverse areas of music to the Moscow Conservatory of Music and other musical institutions in Eastern European countries to further their studies in the mid-1950s (Mao 1991: 109). The revolutionary Chinese government made use of Soviet practice in the formation of large orchestras and choirs for performing traditional and modern music, along the lines of the Soviet Army Ensembles and Cossack choirs (Manuel 1988: 230). Folk songs and contemporary mass music were given symphonic accompaniment in the style of Tchaikovsky or Rimsky-Korsakov (ibid). The professional composers were members of either the National Association of Chinese Music Personnel (established in 1959) or the Chinese Association of Composers (established in 1954). They were supported and directed by the state to compose, teach, perform the music and to carry out research in music. From the early 1960s, the PRC government also encouraged amateurs, such as factory workers, peasants, soldiers, and students to compose own songs. This policy of motivating people to create their songs was the practical application of Mao's "mass-

line" theory. Another concept of Mao's "mass-line" theory was sending professional composers to labour among the workers and peasants periodically in order to enrich themselves in the realisation of workers' needs (see Wong 1984: 127-132). Artists were regarded as "cultural workers". Mao (1967: 18) stated that "cultural workers" must first learn from the people and then proceed to educate them. He also believed that art and literature were vehicles of the "proletarian revolution" and should heighten "people's revolutionary spirit" (Tam & Yip 1990: 91). Though collectivism and amateurism were heavily stressed in Communist China, the influence of Western music still flourished.

During the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), music education in Mainland China was interrupted. The Cultural Revolution was officially launched on August 8, 1966. Education and music were a major concern of the revolution. The slogan of the Cultural Revolution was to "grasp revolution, [and] promote production." The anti-intellectual policies of the Cultural Revolution brought chaos to the music educational establishment. As the politics of music of the PRC was reflected in the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), tensions were built within musical circles in Mainland China. The musical fanfare which opened the Cultural Revolution was "The East is Red", an old revolutionary song which became the movement's anthem. In the song, Chairman Mao was "deified" as the sun in heaven. Its words are "The east is red, the sun has risen. China has produced Mao Zedong. He works for the people's happiness. He is the savior of the people."

During the Cultural Revolution, musicians were prohibited from

doing research in both Chinese and Western music.[62] The teenage "Red-guards" seized antiques, destroyed music books and musical instruments. Literature, art and music were encouraged only for the masses. Traditional Chinese music and Western music were both banned because they were accused of carrying "feudal" and "bourgeois" ideas respectively. Chinese composers or musicians strove to bring about an enthusiasm for revolutionary ideology. Music education was regarded as a "political commodity" and was monitored by the state to conform to its political ideology.

Only the revolutionary musical works could survive under the political suffocation. These works included the symphonic suite "Shachiapang" (Shājiābāng)[63] and the two ballets "The Red Detachment of Women" (Hóng Sè Niáng Zǐ Jūn) and the "White-haired Girl" (Bái Máo Nǚ).[64] The other five works allowed were the operas "Red Lantern's Record" (Hóng Dēng Jì), "Capturing the Tiger Mountain by Strategy" (Zhì Qǔ Wēi Hú Shān), "On the Docks," (Hǎixiàng) "Raid on the White Tiger Regiment" (Qí Xí Bái Hú Tuán) and "Shajiabang" (Shājiābāng)[65]. The symphonic suite, two ballets, and five operas were titled "eight-modelled dramas" (Bāgè Yàngbǎn Xì) and regarded as the only official works in Communist China.[66] The themes of these "eight-modelled dramas" were "drawn from the proletarian struggles during the Civil and Sino-Japanese War (Liang 1985: 157). These model plays introduced many of the characters of traditional Beijing opera and they were claimed as modern, revolutionary Beijing opera (ibid, p.158). This type of music was used to consolidate the power of the

Chinese government in this period. The range of emotions expressed by these revolutionary works was described as "anger, militant, resolve, hatred, triumph, and steely optimism" (Garside 1981: 62). Music operated at the level of politics and musicians had to be defensive in their music. Despite these revolutionary attempts, the Chinese political leaders, as criticised by Kraus (1989: 128), "propagated a music that was in fact highly Western in its technique, harmonic structure, instrumentation, and emphasis on choral singing."

The Cultural Revolution took Chinese music education into a new phase of development and brought forth educational disorders and the loss of cultural life. Teachers were only allowed to sing a few songs under the system of political control. Yao (1989: 25) maintained that "singing one song" was by implication, to have one lesson of "political education". For the extra-curricular activities, schools were only allowed to have the appreciation of the "Eight-modelled drama" (ibid). Standifer (1986) asserts that one of the root causes of contemporary China's music education problems is "political interference and the government's attitude."

Even after the Cultural Revolution, cultural activities were not for individual expression in socialist China. Nevertheless, the 1978 "open-door" policy to Western music was re-adopted by China and a musical exchange between China and the West was opened up again. Deng Xiaoping even criticised the effects of the Cultural Revolution on the arts and asked, "How can eight shows (i.e. "eight-modelled dramas") satisfy an audience of eight hundred million people?" (Manuel 1988: 232). Thus traditional Chinese

music and Western classical music were developed again. Many musicians from Europe, America and other Asian countries were invited to China to teach music or give performances and Chinese students were permitted to go abroad to study music as well. According to the official curriculum guidelines set up by the Chinese Education Ministry, all primary and junior high schools (i.e. up to year nine, around aged fifteen) must offer music lessons, while in senior high schools (i.e. years ten to twelve, around aged sixteen to eighteen) and universities no music course was provided (Mu 1988:25). Emphases, however, were placed on the training of musically gifted children in professional music institutes in China. These professional music institutes, as stated by Mu (1988: 27), involved eight conservatoriums of music, several special high and primary schools of music, and a few departments in arts institutes in China. Mu criticised the fact that this type of Chinese educational system of music could be described as elitist (Mu 1988: 27). Besides academic and professional studies, students were obliged to take political courses based on the theories of communism in the musical institutes. This musical training was described as "professional music education" as well as "political education." Musicians were trained and educated by the state and, in turn, they had to work for the state. Training professional musicians was orientated towards prize-winning in international music competitions and musicians appeared to assume a political career in this matter.[67] Music education for teacher training was relatively underdeveloped compared to professional music education (*Chinese Music*, Vol.52, no.4, December 1993, p.24).[68]

Mainland China entered a new era in the decade of rapid economic growth from 1978 onwards under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping. It was a time of transition for Mainland China from the stage of revolution towards a more open, and inclusive type of politics. The development of music in China has turned from the influence of the communist Eastern European countries to Western countries after the "1978 Open-door Policy".

2.3.3 Development of Music Education in Hong Kong

2.3.3.1 Colonial music education in Hong Kong: before WWII

There were no opportunities to develop formal music education in Hong Kong before the middle of the twentieth century. This was an effect of the tendency to promote other subjects, and the development of music education was neglected in the curriculum.

The beginning of informal music education in Hong Kong was connected with the "missionary invasion" or "cultural invasion" of Western countries. Missionaries arrived in Hong Kong from different parts of the world, including various Protestant and Roman Catholic associations. According to Sweeting (1990: 139), these missionaries shared one common desire - to promote their religious beliefs through education. The first missionary body which worked for Hong Kong education was the Morrison English Society[69] (Ng 1984: 23). In 1870, elementary music was taught as an experiment at the Government Central School (but this was not continued in subsequent years) (Sweeting 1990: 209). Until 1890, any music curriculum was not still practised (Chow 1990: 457). In 1910, music was

first taught in the French Convent Schools for girls through piano lessons. In particular, the London Missionary Society, the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church had contributed a lot to this field. The musical activities were mainly based on singing and the songbooks were from Shěn Xīn-gōng and Lǐ Shū-tóng's editions of "Chinese school songs", anti-war songs, film songs, textbooks from Mainland China such as "Renascent Junior Secondary Music Textbooks", and also the English songbook "The One Hundred and One Best Songs" (Chow 1990: 458). Up to the 1960s, music education was mainly provided by the convent schools through the informal curriculum. Missionaries played an important role in the spread of Western music education in Hong Kong. Sisters and priests were music teachers in these schools.

Besides the work of missionaries in Hong Kong, Dr. Hung Go-wong, a postgraduate from Stanford University in America and a prime figure in the establishment of Leng Ying Secondary School[70] in Hong Kong, devoted himself to the promotion of Hong Kong music education before World War II. Singing, notation reading and music appreciation were introduced up to Form 3 level in Leng Ying Secondary School. A school songbook named *Leng Ying Gejap* was a collection of school songs, religious songs, arts songs, folk songs and two-part songs. Other school activities such as school choir, choirs for hymns and brass band were also encouraged in Leng Ying Secondary school (Chow 1990: 458).

During the period of occupation by the Japanese (1942-45), the Japanese abolished British rule and attempted to terminate Western

influences on Hong Kong. By the end of the Second World War in 1945, the school population had dropped from 120,000 to 4,000 (Chan & Kirst 1986: 54). After the withdrawal of Japan, school enrolment was increased to 50,000 out of a total Hong Kong population of 2,360,000 in 1950 (Hong Kong Annual Report 1950: 19). Music, however, had limited space in the Hong Kong educational system, especially immediately after WWII.

2.3.3.2 Colonial music education in Hong Kong: after WWII

2.3.3.2.1 The content of musical knowledge in the Hong Kong music curriculum

Kan (1994: 46) argues that the philosophy of Chinese education was different from Hong Kong education: "raising political consciousness" was emphasised by the former, whilst this concept was forbidden in the latter. Immediately after WWII, the educational activities of the communists were promoted in Hong Kong by Communist China. Hong Kong students were encouraged to cross the border into China to take part in communist guerrilla activities in South China (Sweeting 1993: 198-199). In order to suppress the spread of communist influence in Hong Kong's schools, the Director of Hong Kong Education asked for an amendment to the Education Ordinance in November 1948.[71] The political nature of the Education Ordinance was an important means of the centralisation of Hong Kong's education policies. The bureaucratisation of education was also an outcome of a concern about the interference of Chinese policies in Hong Kong's schools.

As a result, the introduction of Chinese communist music was highly

restricted and traditional Chinese music was also undermined in the music curriculum. Owing to political considerations, Chinese music (including traditional Chinese music and the "new music" of Mao's period) was not recognised in the Hong Kong music curriculum. Music education in Hong Kong was a "colonial product" and the supposedly a-political content of Western musical knowledge was featured in the music curriculum.

In 1949, D J F Fraser, a Scot, was one of the first organisers of the Schools of Music Festival. He also became the Music Organiser of the Hong Kong Education Department. By Fraser's efforts, the Music Department of the Hong Kong Education Department was formed, and it planned for primary and secondary music education in 1952. Fraser strongly advocated the adoption of the English music education system, i.e. using the Oxford music course, Curwen's Tonic Sol-fa, sight-singing, sight-reading, and choral singing (Chow 1990: 459). Nevertheless, the teaching materials of secondary schools varied from school to school. According to *Musical Art* (1961, no.7, p.3), there were not enough music textbooks in Hong Kong secondary schools. Some teachers had to devise their own teaching materials and some used the song book named "One Hundred and One Best Songs" in their music lessons. Some church schools adopted hymns as their teaching materials. During the 1960s and 1970s, the content of official musical knowledge emphasising Western music was laid down by Hong Kong music educators. These music educators were British or Chinese who had received education in Hong Kong under the British colonial administration. They did not recognise the role of Chinese music in the curriculum before the 1980s.

2.3.3.2.2 The problem of the shortage of music teachers

The situation of Hong Kong was totally different from Mainland China, because Hong Kong was colonised by Britain and did not have its own musicians. The problem of a shortage of music teachers was not solved even during the 1950s. The 1949 takeover of Mainland China by the Communists created a huge influx of Mainland refugees into Hong Kong, and its population increased by 50 percent to three million during the 1950s (Chan & Kirst 1986: 54). Amongst these refugees were Chinese musicians who once contributed a lot to the development of music education in Mainland China. In the 1950s, the "Chinese Sacred Music Institute" (Zhōngguó Shg Yu Yuàn)[72] was set up by these Chinese musicians, and the magazine named "*Music Companion*" (Yuèyǒu) was published (Liu 1990: 266). However, the qualifications of these Chinese musicians were not approved by the Hong Kong authorities for teaching in the Hong Kong education system.

Regardless of the establishment of two more colleges of education in the 1950s and 1960s, music teachers were inadequate and music education in schools was not well developed. In 1913, the first vernacular Normal Schools were set up and those provided in-service initial training courses for teachers. In 1939, the first teacher training college was established to provide full-time teacher training programmes, renamed the Northcote Training College in 1941 (Hong Kong Institute of Education 1995:1). In 1950, Mr. N.G. Fisher, the Chief Education Officer of Manchester, was invited to Hong Kong and advised the government on its expenditure on

education. Fisher's Report led to the establishment of two more teacher training colleges (in addition to the Northcote College of Education): the Grantham College of Education in 1951 and the Sir Robert Black College of Education in 1960. In 1951, the Northcote College of Education started to have courses for training music teachers on a one-year full-time basis. Physical Education, Music, Art and Design, Crafts were suggested to be carried out in schools in the 1953 Burney Report.[73] This was described as follows:

> The curriculum in Government and Grant schools should be so widened as to provide rather more liberally than at present for the broad human needs of the pupils. More attention should be paid to their health and adequate allowance should be made in the time-tables for physical education, and other activities such as music, manual instruction, art and crafts, and organised games.
>
> (Sweeting 1990: 356)

In the early 1960s, the Sir Robert Black College of Education was established to run three-year courses providing for teacher training (Chow 1990: 459). Nevertheless, Hong Kong still could not solve the problem of the shortage of music teachers at that time. Some unqualified Hong Kong "music" teachers who could play the piano but had not received formal music teachers' training were allowed to teach primary and secondary music education.

2.3.3.2.3 The place of music in the curriculum

Before the 1980s, Hong Kong music education was not well developed in the curriculum. According to Chow (1990: 464), Wú Qǐ Hóng wrote an article entitled "Talking About Hong Kong Schools' Music Lessons" (Shuōshuō Xiānggǒng Xuéxiào Yínyuèkè) in *Music Companion* published in March

1955, criticising the fact that headmasters did not encourage music in the school curriculum and that most music teachers were not trained to teach music and were ill-prepared for music lessons. Wǔ also highlighted the fact that lots of pupils did not recognise the importance of music lessons in schools. Eighteen years after Wǔ's article, Xuē Wěi-xiáng, a Hong Kong famous vocalist and music educator, wrote an article about Hong Kong music teaching in a boys secondary school in the same journal. Xuē conducted a survey among 160 secondary Form 1 pupils about their music education in Primary 6. Over 50% of them (more than 80 pupils) had no music lessons in their Primary 6 studies. About 25% of them (about 40 pupils) had music lessons in their school time-tables but music lessons were overtaken by other important subjects in practice. About 20% of them (about 32 pupils) had music lessons in singing but sometimes they were instructed to do their private studies in music lessons. These two articles reflected the poor situation of Hong Kong music education during the 1950s and the early 1970s respectively.[74] Most pupils were not able to have substantial music education in schools.

Moreover, Hong Kong music education was underdeveloped and this was due to the late development of the syllabuses for primary and secondary schools. Although particular emphasis was suggested to be placed on the balanced development of general, practical and cultural subjects in the school curriculum in the 1970s (Hong Kong Government, June 1981, p.12), there was no compulsory pclicy for schools to have music in their curricula. The first music syllabus for primary schools came into existence

in 1968, issued by the Education Department and prepared by a committee consisting of school inspectors, college lecturers and teachers from government schools. The music syllabus focused mainly on listening to Western traditional music and singing English songs. The policy of integrating English in the whole curriculum was stated as follows:

> We would expect English studies to be emphasised in the curriculum for the sixth year of general education and English to be used as the language of instruction in some subjects. We consider that such emphasis on English language would not only facilitate later study in Anglo-Chinese secondary schools but also improve English language standards in Chinese secondary schools and ultimately at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. (*White Paper on Education Policy*, April, 1965, para.254)

In other words, it is my contention that the Western orientation of Hong Kong music education was intended to achieve cultural political ends in the 1960s. In the Hong Kong music education system, the singing of English songs was a means to improve students' English proficiency. The first music syllabus for junior secondary schools (aged 12-15) was published in 1983. According to the Curriculum Development Committee (1983), the time allocation for music in junior secondary forms should be between one hour ten minutes and one hour twenty minutes, i.e. approximately two sessions of 35 minutes or 40 minutes per week.

2.3.3.2.4 The under-development of music education for economic reasons

The educational policies have been envisaged as a means to attain national wealth and power in Hong Kong. Hong Kong has achieved one of the most rapid economic growths in Asia. According to Chou's basic estimate in 1964,

the Gross National Product (GNP) of Hong Kong was HK$10 billion or HK$2,770 per head of the population, which was probably a little greater than in Singapore (Hopkins 1971: 5). According to the *Hong Kong Year Book* (1970), Gross Domestic Product (GDP) increased by 17.4% with the largest contribution from manufacturing industries (Kan 1994: 54). The Census and Statistics of Hong Kong (1991: 8) also stated that per capital GDP increased from HK$11,961 in 1966 to HK$13,211 in 1969 (ibid). The Hong Kong laissez-faire doctrine and free-port policy have attracted the investment of foreigners as well as the influx of international technical know-how.

As a result of the growing sophistication of the economic and industrial development, Hong Kong education was mainly designed to meet the needs of commerce and industry. During the 1960s and 1970s, Hong Kong's rationale has been largely on economic advancement and the economic activities which were related to the export trade and manufacturing industries such as textiles, ship building and ship repairing. The most important economic considerations affecting educational policy can be found in the 1977 announcement of nine-year compulsory education in Hong Kong. In 1977, the governor, Murray Maclehose, publicised the decisions to introduce free and compulsory primary education up to the end of Secondary Form 3 or the age of fifteen. According to Sweeting and Morris (1993: 204-205), the reasons for the implementation of nine-year free and compulsory education were associated with the negotiations between the Hong Kong Government and the European Economic Community (EEC)

over textile quotas. Owing to the relatively competitive nature of Hong Kong textiles, the government attempted to avoid being criticised for exploiting child labour. Without previous planning to ensure a sufficient supply of teachers and school buildings, the government announced that all children under the age of fifteen, the legal minimum age of employment, should receive free and compulsory schooling.

As British educational policies in Hong Kong aimed at supplying the manpower needs of economic and industrial development, music has been seen as an unimportant subject in the curriculum. The development of music education helped to accelerate the attainment of economic goals in the 1960s but music education was not developed for its own sake. Singing English songs was encouraged as an Anglo-centric approach in music education. The ideology of cultural imperialism of Western musical learning emphasised language proficiency in the curriculum. Law (1991: 249) asserts that "serious music often suffocates in a materialistic and superficial society". Most students would not have any interest in music because they simply could not earn their living by music. It is apparent that Hong Kong music education fits the general patterns described by Kelly and Altbach in that, "in the colonial situation the school was detached from indigenous cultures in the languages and in the social values they taught" (in Bray 1991: 92). For this reason, colonisation sharpened "the pluralism dilemma in education" (Bullivant 1981: 240). Thomas also claims that "colonial schools did not help students to develop societal relationships which carried beyond the colonial hierarchy, but tried to fit people to the needs of the

hierarchy whether it benefitted them or not" (in Friederichs 1991: 201). The processes of colonisation (as also accompanied by bureaucratisation), industrialisation and commercialisation have illuminated political, economic, as well as cultural dimensions in the course of Hong Kong music education.

2.3.3.2.5 The promotion of informal music education by other social institution

Outside the scope of formal music education, children's musical and creative activities have been promoted by other social institutions. For example, Hong Kong Children's Choir was organised in 1969[75] and Yip Wai-hong[76] was its music director and conductor until the fall of 1983 (Teo & Lee 1992: 1). In 1983, Yip's Training School (or named as Yip's Centre), was founded and has made a successful impact in Hong Kong music education and Yip Wai-hong is the conductor of the Yip's Children Choir (Teo & Lee 1992: 1). Yip Wai-hong's theory of music education for children is: "Learning is playing, playing is learning" (ibid). He suggests the introduction of singing, music drama, music appreciation, percussion playing and music theory, etc. in the Yip's Centre. The Hong Kong Arts Centre also organised annual Children's Festivals beginning in 1982. Yip Chi-kong composed and published a suite of choral and solo pieces for children. A large-scale International Children's Choir was presented in Hong Kong in mid-1982. Yip Wai-hong worked with Chan Pui-fang, to write a Festival Overture for children's chorus and orchestra for this occasion (Law 1991: 244). The Hong

Kong Young Musicians' Awards (HKYMA), regarded as one of the most important composition competitions for youth, were presented by the Music Office, Radio Television Hong Kong, and the Composers' and Authors' Society for Hong Kong. This competition was focused on chamber music in two categories of Western and Chinese instruments.

2.3.3.4 Year of decolonisation (1984)

This section describes Hong Kong music education at the beginning of decolonisation, i.e. 1984. The introduction of civic education and Chinese music into the Hong Kong music education system in response to the transfer of sovereignty from Britain to the PRC, is complex.

The return of Hong Kong to the PRC was first voiced by the Beijing authorities in the late 1970s. After Deng Xiaoping gained power in the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in December 1978, the four modernisations[77], reunification of the country and the combat of foreign influence were singled out as three major goals of Mainland China. The fate of Hong Kong depended on this policy of Mainland China. After Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's historic visit to Beijing in September 1984, much attention was focused on the question of Hong Kong's future. The Sino-British Joint Declaration on the future of Hong Kong was initiated in Beijing on 26 September 1984. The Declaration states that Hong Kong will return to China as part of its territory after June 1997. This began a process of decolonisation of Hong Kong and its convergence with the social system of the PRC after 1997.

Decolonisation of Hong Kong as socio-political transformation has influenced music education in two ways. First, it entailed suggestions that Chinese music should be incorporated into the music curriculum. Owing to the imminent political change of 1997, the range of Chinese music has been expanded. Hong Kong music education had to resolve the problems that resulted from a long colonial period by the introduction of Chinese music into the curriculum. The emphasis on Chinese elements has influenced the outlook of music education in the 1980s and 1990s. Thus the 1983 Music Syllabus for junior secondary pupils has already started to address traditional Chinese music in formal music education. However, the "new Chinese music" of Mao has not been encouraged because it was assumed that music should not bear overt party political ideology in the Hong Kong music education system.

Second, the 1984 White Paper on "The Further Development of Representative Government in Hong Kong" (in the *Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools* by the Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, Foreword) stipulated that schools need to promote civic education through the school curriculum. The Education Department promoted the ideas of "fostering harmonious relationship between school authorities, staff, pupils and parents" (ibid 1985: 3). Leung (1995: 288) demonstrates that the emphasis in the 1985 *Guidelines* acted as a "politically socializing force for promoting stability and responsibility." He criticises the fact that none of the four general aims, or the ten aims and objectives of civic education at secondary level are related to the cultivation of identity related to Chinese

culture or Chinese history. Nevertheless, Leung (ibid) notes that the *Guidelines* do suggest related topics on Chinese culture and Chinese history in the appendix (p.305, endnotes 12). With reference to the Hong Kong music curriculum, decolonisation meant an emphasis on civic education as a means to maintain social harmony and serve the needs of society as in Confucian education in Imperial China. Music lessons were suggested to emphasise tuition in singing songs about loving one's neighbour through the Hong Kong formal curriculum and extra-curricular activities.[78] Thus civic education through music education was seen as carrying a covert political function in the curriculum.

To conclude, music education in Hong Kong was influenced by Western countries as Hong Kong has been politically and culturally influenced by Great Britain since the Nanjing Treaty in 1842. During the three decades 1950-1980, the development of Hong Kong music education was framed by political and economic constructions with an explicit apolitical Western style of musical knowledge in its design, but an implicit political purpose for controlling the content of musical knowledge.

2.4 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This chapter has described the historical context of the contemporary music education systems in Mainland China and Hong Kong. Confucian teaching had long served as the most important ideology for Chinese social and political life. The purpose of music education was to promote social harmony throughout the Chinese Empire. Because of the close association with the

conservative characteristics in Confucian society, music was thought of more in terms of ethics, rather than aesthetics.

The purpose of music education was to promote social harmony throughout the Chinese Empire. The Sino-centric Confucian school of thought was shattered by a series of military defeats towards the end of the nineteenth century. Modern Chinese music education has been subject to political changes since the turn of the twentieth century. The "open-door" policy to the West which followed, went along with the influence of Western music on Chinese music. The development of music education in Mainland China during the 1920s and the 1930s was led by Western music oriented Chinese musicians and conservatory teachers and students. The chapter has argued that contemporary music education of Mainland China has displayed a certain degree of ethnocentrism but that also the ideology of cultural pluralism has been widely accepted to integrate Western music in its institutional establishment.

Politically, the 1840s and 1980s marked the respective beginnings of the colonisation and decolonisation of Hong Kong. Hong Kong education has experienced two distinctive periods: colonisation (1840s) and decolonisation (after the early 1980s). The development of Hong Kong music education was started by the education of missionaries, informally in the sense of "missionary invasion" or "cultural invasion" before World War II. After WWII, the development of music education was largely neglected at the expense of economic development, but what was present, was Western music only. Owing to decolonisation from the 1980s, Chinese music is now

being introduced into the curriculum for cultural political purposes. These economic and political factors have interplayed in Hong Kong music education since the Second World War.

Hong Kong, though its school system was based on liberal educational principles, neglected its music education due to the policy of British rule in shaping Hong Kong as its colony. The tension of Hong Kong music education involves the contradictions between the content of music education today and the challenges of the politically-changing society. The thesis will go on to argue that Hong Kong music education can be seen as a means to achieve political socialisation in Hong Kong.

The task of Chapter Three is to continue to identify the complexity of the political cultural relations between the PRC and Hong Kong in both international and domestic musical scenes in the 1980s. Chapter Three will also discuss the rise of Hong Kong indigenous popular music and classical music written by Hong Kong composers since Hong Kong has entered the period of decolonisation in 1984.

CHAPTER THREE

THE POLITICAL CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN HONG KONG AND CHINA AND THE RISE OF HONG KONG INDIGENOUS LOCAL MUSIC SINCE ENTERING THE 1984 DECOLONISED PERIOD UPTO 1989

3.1 PURPOSE AND ARGUMENT

This chapter sets out to trace the development of music education in Hong Kong from 1984 to 1989 framed by the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration Agreement, confirming the return of Hong Kong's sovereignty to China in 1997. In particular, the chapter will give an account of the rise of Hong Kong indigenous local music including popular and classical music in relation to the localisation of Hong Kong in the 1980s.[79] The main argument is that music in Hong Kong is an interplay between political, cultural and commercial artefacts and that music has a political role in both domestic and international arenas.

3.2 CONTRASTED CULTURES BETWEEN HONG KONG AND MAINLAND CHINA

This section describes the dilemmas of cultural conflict in Hong Kong during the transitional period. It views music in Hong Kong as an intercultural activity conducted within a mixed framework of Western, traditional Chinese and Hong Kong indigenous cultures. Although the Hong Kong government maintains a neutral stand vis-à-vis artistic creation and does not interfere in the cultural life of other social institutions, these external political factors have transformed the face of political culture in the

territory.

Mainland China and Hong Kong differ in their concepts of culture. In Mainland China, the construction of cultural identity is imposed by the central controlled ideology. The goal of China's open policy and a policy of reform towards modernisation after 1978 was only an importation of industrial equipment and scientific technology from the West, but resisting Western culture and ideology. The socialist culture in China, authenticating and defining a socialist system through the dissemination of the thought of Marxism, Leninism and Maoism, has recognised itself "in tension with both Chinese traditional cultures and the values of modernisation" (Ogden 1989: 307). No difference has been drawn between "high culture" and "low culture" in China in the last fifty years. The national policy of the Chinese government regards education as a striking weapon for conquering cultural differences and achieving its ultimate goal of "a single culture and political nation" (Standifer 1986: 19). Although China has broadened its culture to include popular and local cultures, Yú maintains that the "interests of cultures" are subordinated to the "interests of politics" (1980: 12). In other words, there is only "political taste" and no "cultural taste" in Mainland China (ibid). In China, this culture is identified as "party" culture or "socialist" culture which has attempted to mould the "accepted" and "corrected" attitudes and behaviours of the populace towards their authorities.

In spite of having roots in Mainland China and the majority of Hong Kong people being Chinese by ethnic origin, Hong Kong differs from

Mainland China in its society and ways of life and political norms. Hong Kong has evolved its separate culture and identity which are different from that of Mainland China. At the time of the setting-up of the 1949 Chinese Communist government, the outbreak of the Korean War in the early 1950s and the intensification of the Cold War, the political, economic and cultural relationship between Mainland China and Hong Kong was suddenly terminated. The alienation of the Hong Kong Chinese from the Mainland was widened by anti-communist propaganda supported by Western countries, particularly the United States, in Hong Kong after the formation of the PRC in 1949. The cultural development of Hong Kong and China was totally changed into two different main streams, including the radical cutting of Hong Kong cultural and social ties from Mainland China after the post-1950 era.[80] The cultural life of Hong Kong people is assumed to be "a-political" and "pluralistic"; whilst in Mainland China, the cultural life tends to be "political" and "centralised thinking" is demanded by the state.

Unlike contemporary China, Hong Kong is an industrialised, modern, urban society exposed to Western and Eastern cultures which have made cultural contrasts apparent. As Hong Kong people enjoy freedom in an open socio-economic system, the social and cultural values of the Hong Kong Chinese delineate a mixture of traditional Chinese and Western orientations. Nevertheless, these orientations cannot easily exist side by side.

Hong Kong culture has become especially complicated and confused under the interactions of traditional Chinese, Western and Hong Kong

cultures since Hong Kong entered into the era of decolonisation in the 1980s. Chan (1993: 353) argues that there is no "comprehensive and integrative national culture, high culture over a persistent cultural tradition" in Hong Kong and that Hong Kong culture is "fragmentary" and "incoherent" (p.354). "In Hong Kong", as also noted by Chan (1994: 448), "there is not much unified, coherent culture foundation....." This can also be shown in the complicated identity of Hong Kong Chinese. According to Suttill (89/90: 15), Alex Kwan, a sociologist, argues that the Hong Kong Chinese are "marginalised" people who are ambiguous about their identity between mainland Chinese and British. In the early days of the colonised period, identity for most Chinese in Hong Kong could not be projected as "Hong Kong Chinese" (Yee 1992: 250). This was because "there was no formal structure nor any status nor any privileges or rights as such, and surely no sentiments of association or tradition in Hong Kong" (ibid). The 1985 survey showed that 59.5% of the respondents identified themselves as Hongkongese, and 36.2% as Chinese (Lau 1992: 152). The 1988 survey was found that the figures were 63.6% and 28.8% respectively (ibid). In the 1990's survey, 57.2% of the respondents called themselves Hongkongese, 26.4% Chinese whilst 12.2% thought of themselves as "both Hongkongese and Chinese."[81]

As the identity of Hong Kong Chinese will be subject to the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) after 1997, Hong Kong Chinese have to cope with the "bureaucratic colonial rule" of Britain and the "autocratic centralism" of socialist China. In order to prepare students for

the challenges of 1997, more cross-border cultural exchanges to China have already taken place in Hong Kong schools. In May 1985, the New Direction and Outdoor Education Committee was established after the signing of the Sino-British Agreement which aroused the awareness of the Hong Kong educational sector of the need to bring closer contact with the mainland.[82]

3.3 POLITICAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE STATE, MUSIC AND OTHER CULTURAL ARTS

This section describes the influence of the Hong Kong state on arts and music policies in the 1980s. Although cultural development in Hong Kong and mainland China is different in their orientations, the Hong Kong state has a "hidden" political agenda: not to annoy China. The only authentic source of Hong Kong traditional culture that is regarded as a political asset is that which originates from Mainland China and not from Taiwan. Moreover, music education has been institutionalised within the Hong Kong political culture through the development of Chinese music.

Internationally, an example of not offending the PRC in the development of the arts, was the suppression of Taiwanese arts activities in Hong Kong by the government. Chan and Lee (1991: 5) suggest that Hong Kong has to stay neutral in the contention between the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) of the PRC and the Kuomingtang (KMT) in Taiwan. But Hong Kongese have little opportunity to see Taiwanese arts performance because of its political implications against Mainland China. Film censorship was an important means for the Hong Kong government by not allowing any film criticising communist China to be shown in public

so as to maintain good relations with the PRC state.[83] In February 1985, a Taiwanese film, *Ah Fu*, was withdrawn because it would "adversely affect relations with neighbouring countries" (*Review*, May 30, 1985 in Lau & Rosario 1985: 31). This demonstrated an example of censorship to Taiwanese films so as to avoid annoying the PRC state. The Urban Council also did not allow any Taiwanese films, for example, the film named "The King's Sky and the Queen's Earth" (Huángtián Hòutǔ), to be released in the City Hall which was run by the government.[84] No Taiwanese arts groups were invited to perform in the Hong Kong Arts Festivals[85] and Asian Festivals[86] until the mid 1980s (*Ming Pao Monthly Journal*, Vol.20, No.10, October 1985, p.25). The first Taiwanese performance was conducted by Taiwanese dancers in Hong Kong in the mid 1980s, and the performance was named "Dancing in the Cloudy Door" (Yúmén Mǔjí) (ibid).

However, Lo King-man[87] who was responsible for inviting foreign performing arts organisations to take part in cultural activities promoted by the Urban Council, denied any political motivation in not welcoming Taiwanese arts groups to give performances in Hong Kong. Lo pointed out that most performing arts bodies joining the Festival of Asian Arts were recommended by cultural departments of foreign embassies stationed in Hong Kong. As Hong Kong and Taiwan had no relations in foreign affairs, this was the reason why Taiwanese performing arts groups were not be able to come to Hong Kong (*Ming Pao Monthly Journal*, Vol.20, No.10, October 1985, pp.25-26). Mǎ Bīn, the manager of the Hong Kong Arts Festival Association,[88] put forward three reasons for not inviting Taiwanese

performing groups to Hong Kong. These are the following: (1) the Taiwanese nationalistic orchestras were considered not as good as the ones from Hong Kong and Mainland China; (2) for local drama, organisations in Mainland China were better than the ones in Taiwan in terms of quality and quantity; and (3) compared with Western music, the Taiwanese quality was not so good (*Ming Pao Monthly Journal*, Vol.20, No.10, October 1985, p.26). Disregarding these three reasons, the Urban Council welcomed Taiwanese individual instrumentalists to give performances in Hong Kong but not any official representative performing group (ibid, p.25).

Domestically, the state of Hong Kong does not link music and musicians with politics and people have freedom of expression. In the 1980s, the Hong Kong government allowed songs carrying nationalistic content, and this was accepted by the PRC authorities. Hong Kong musicians did not express any other political orientation in their music before the 1989 June 4th Incident in Tiananmen Square. During the 1980s, there were only a few nationalistic popular songs which marked the beginning of expressing Chinese national identity, therefore, these songs did not carry any explicit or implicit political opposition to the PRC authorities. Instead, the nationalistic songs, according to Zhōu (1990: 160), were popularised in the early 1980s as a protest against the Japanese movement. Amongst these nationalistic songs, Zhāng Míng-mǐu's songs "I Am A Chinese" (Wǒ Shì Zhōngguórén) and "My Chinese Heart" (Wǒ Zhōngguóxīn) and Hóu Dé-jiàn's "The Descendants of the Dragon" (Lóng De Chuán-rén)[89] were the most popular ones. In 1983, a Hong Kong popular singer, Wāng

Míng-quán, sang "Be A Brave Chinese" (Zuògè Xǒnggǎn De Zhōngguó Rén) which became the Chinese "golden" hit in the official broadcasting channel Radio Television Hong Kong (RTHK) (Zhōu 1990: 160).[90] Wāng also had a personal concert in Mainland China in 1987. This song, which bought fame to Wāng, expresses the nationalistic ideology of the 1980s. Wāng is said to be the first Hong Kong artist to involve herself in political matters since she was appointed as one of the Hong Kong representatives of the National People's Congress[91] by Mainland China in 1988. Some people say that Wāng could be the representative because of the national ideology of her song, "Be a Brave Chinese" which shares the same attitude as the propaganda "Strengthening the Country" by Mainland China in the 1980s (Yú 1988: 8).

In the field of classical music, Hong Kong has greatly promoted the authentic and traditional Chinese music performed by mainland musicians since the 1980s. In the area of transmitting traditional Chinese music, mainland musicians were allowed to play a prominent role in the development of Chinese music in Hong Kong. In December 1984, the second Chinese Music Festival was organised by the Music Office[92] of the Hong Kong Recreation and Culture Council and five Chinese musicians including Lín Shí-chéng, Zhāng Yùn, Xiàng Zǔ-huá, Lǐ Xiáng-tíng, and Zuǒ Jì-chéng were invited to come to Hong Kong. These five Chinese musicians were very active in promoting Chinese music when they stayed in Hong Kong.[93] The cultural exchange between Hong Kong and mainland Chinese musicians was very common, particularly after the mid 1980s. A tour of thirteen composers from Mainland China came to Hong Kong for the First

Contemporary Chinese Composers Festival running from June 22 to 29 June, 1986 (*Music Study*, Vol.43, No.4, 1986, p.119). Topics on "Contemporary Music in China" and "Chinese Professional Music Education in Composing" were presented by Mainland composers in the Festival (ibid). Composers from the United States of America, Canada, Austria, Britain, France and Hong Kong were invited (Ibid). No Taiwanese composers were invited to the Festival. Moreover, Mainland musicians are invited as guest conductors for the Hong Kong Chinese Orchestra (HKCO).[94] For example, Wang Hui-ren[95] served as guest conductor for the performances of the HKCO in November 1984 (He 1984: 79). In 1987, representatives from the Traditional Chinese Music Society chaired by Lǐ Huàn-zhī, went to Hong Kong for an academic exchange with Hong Kong musicians (Chow 1988: 8).[96] For the 1986 Festival of Asian Arts, ten overseas groups were invited including from China, India, Indonesia, Japan, South Korea, Malaysia, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Thailand, but no Taiwanese group (see *Hong Kong Annual Report 1987*, p.261).

In the scope of music education, the development of Chinese music in Hong Kong was associated with mainland China. Cultural exchange between mainland Chinese musicians and Hong Kong higher music institutions/schools were quite frequent in the 1980s. Mainland Chinese musicians were frequent visitors to both music departments of the Hong Kong Chinese University and the Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts (APA)[97] during the 1980s. The APA invited various Mainland musicians to give classes and to examine in its courses for Chinese music.[98] The St.

Stephen College was regarded as the first Hong Kong school organisation to give a musical performance in China in 1987 (Jīn 1988: 7). Owing to the complicated relations between Taiwan and Mainland China, the state of Hong Kong linked its Chinese culture with Mainland China, rather than Taiwan. Although the Hong Kong state was unwilling to invite Taiwanese artists to present their performance in Hong Kong, there were no official or political sanctions against Taiwanese artists/entertainers performing in Hong Kong for private business.

Outside the sphere of official control, there were some cases of musical exchange between Hong Kong and Taiwanese musicians. This can be traced with the establishment of the Asian Composers' League (ACL) in 1973 (Chow 1984: 18). In December 1980, the Hong Kong tenor, Jiā Chéng-míng was the first Hong Kong musician invited by the Taiwan Chinese Broadcasts Company to take part in the ninth "Chinese Arts Songs' Night" (ibid). More Taiwanese works were also welcomed to be performed in Hong Kong, particularly towards the end of the 1980s. The International Society of Contemporary Music (ISCM) and the Asian Composers' League (ACL) joined the World Music Days Festival in Hong Kong in October 1988 and the works of Chu Xiao-sung and Hsu Po-youn from Mainland China and Taiwan respectively were presented in the Festival respectively (*Newsletter* of the Hong Kong Society for Music Education, September 1988, p.9.) The Hong Kong Chinese Orchestra (HKCO) first went to Taiwan to give performances in 1988 (Chow 1989: 3). In 1988, the Hong Kong Chinese University held a three-day international seminar on Chinese music.

Scholars coming from China, Taiwan, the United States and Hong Kong presented more than twenty papers in the seminar (Shāng 1989: 19). More Taiwanese performers were officially invited by the Urban Council towards the end of the 1980s. For example, the 1988 Festival of Asian Arts featured ten overseas performing groups including from Australia, India, Indonesia, Israel, Japan, Korea, Thailand, Turkey, China and Taiwan (*Hong Kong 1989*, p.291).[99]

To conclude, music in Hong Kong is a political artefact which has been determined by the international and the domestic scenes. Internationally, political tensions caused by the contradictions between Hong Kong and the PRC were thought to cause official suppression of Taiwanese arts activities (including Taiwanese Chinese music) so as not to annoy the PRC and uphold the theory that traditional Chinese music originated from mainland China. Domestically, there were no popular songs with anti-PRC feelings before the 1989 Tiananmen Square and the development of Chinese music in Hong Kong was closely related with mainland musicians.

3.4 THE RISE OF HONG KONG INDIGENOUS MUSIC

3.4.1 Localisation and Hong Kong Popular Music

As Hong Kong will become a Special Administrative Region of China, indigenisation has become more significant for its development in this peculiar political situation. Localisation has been characterised by the recognition and maturation of Hong Kong Cantonese popular songs

(Cantopop) during the 1980s.

As early as the end of the 1960s, Taiwanese popular songs, sung in Mandarin, composed the mainstream of Hong Kong popular music (Huáng 1990: 9). Taiwanese singers such as Yáo Sū-róng, Qīng Shān, Yóu Yǎ, Táng Yàn, Zhāng Pì and Gèng Lí-jūn (or named Teresa Tang)[100] won their fame in Hong Kong in the late 1960s and 1970s. Taiwanese "campus folk songs" were popular in Hong Kong, particularly between 1980 and 1982. Amongst these Taiwanese "campus folk songs", the songs such as "Olive Tree" (Gǎnlǎn Shù), and "The Descendants of the Dragon" (Lóng De Chuán-rén) were the most welcomed ones in Hong Kong (Huáng 1990: 12). During the 1960s and 1970s, Western popular songs dominated the music market in Hong Kong. Western popular singers such as Peter, Paul and Mary, the Beatles, Simon and Garfunkel, Joan Baez, Olivia Newton John, the Carpenters, the Bee Gees and the Rolling Stones were popular in Hong Kong during this period.[101]

However, towards the end of the 1970s, Hong Kong firstly reflected its own culture as a "non-Chinese" [i.e. non-traditional] mode of life and promoted the ideology of "consumer culture", such as films, TV dramas and popular songs (Choi 1990: 162). According to some research entitled "The development and influence of Cantonese popular songs" conducted by students of the Hong Kong Chinese University in 1980, eight reasons could be suggested to explain the popularity of Cantonese songs: (1) the natural development of Hong Kong society; (2) high technology in Hong Kong; (3) the maturity of economic conditions; (4) the adoption of Chinese as an

official language; (5) the breakthrough of Cantonese popular songs in respect of melodies, lyrics and content, etc.; (6) the innovation of mass media, especially the work done by the radio and television stations; (7) the creators' hard work in the promotion of popular songs; and (8) the change of peoples' values, i.e. people no longer conceive listening to English songs to be more prestigious than singing and listening to Cantopop (in Huáng 1990: 17-8). In this thesis, the rise of the indigenous Cantonese popular songs in the 1980s will be characterised by three dimensions: (1) the promotion of Cantopop by Hong Kong intellectuals, government and other social organisations; (2) the changing social and cultural structures in Hong Kong; and (3) the growth of the music business and the promotion of Cantopop as a form of entertainment by the mass media.

3.4.1.1 The promotion of Cantonese popular songs (Cantopop) by Hong Kong intellectuals, Hong Kong government and other social organisations

Students of the Hong Kong University and the Hong Kong Chinese University published articles and reports about Chinese lyrics as a support to the development of Cantopop in the early 1980s. The introduction of Cantopop was openly recognised by intellectuals. For example, the Chinese Language Department, the Arts Faculty and the Chinese Department of the Hong Kong Chinese University edited "Learning Arts" (Xuéwén) which had special topics to investigate Hong Kong Cantopop including the issues of using sentence structures and intonation and interviews with Hong Kong lyricists such as James Wong, Poon Wai-yuan (Huáng 1990: 143-144). The

Student Union of the Arts Faculty at the Hong Kong University published an article, entitled "Art and Arts 86: Chinese Lyrics in Hong Kong" (Wén Yǔ Yì 86: Zhōngwén Gēcí Zài Xiánggǒng) (ibid, p.143). The reports of these two universities' students analysed the Chinese lyrics of popular songs as a reflection of social phenomena and cultural identity. Moreover, Raymond Wong, the former principal of the Hong Kong University, had a performance to play a Cantonese popular song named "A Passage with Sorrowing Tears" (Rén Zài Lütú Sālèi Shí) with his violin by the early 1980s. In 1986, Wong also played Cantopop at his farewell party at the University (Huáng 1990: 142-143). In 1987, Lee Pang-fei, the Director of China's Hong Kong & Macau Affairs Office, invited members of the Basic Law Committee[102] to have a meal in a restaurant and Wong played his music including two serenades and one Cantopop song named "Life Is But A Play" (Xìjù Rénshēng) at the end of the meal (Huáng 1990: 143).

From the beginning of the 1980s, the Hong Kong Government also used Cantopop as propaganda to convey messages to the public. Every year the Action Committee Against Narcotics (ACAN) promoted a new Cantonese popular song as propaganda to encourage people not to take drugs and to eradicate drug abuse from the community. For example, Agnes Chan sang the song "Cherish Your Youthhood" (Zhēnxī Hǎo Niánhuá). In 1982 and 1983, Esther Chan sang the song "Strive for Your Futurity" (Wéile Míngtiān). In 1988, Jacky Cheung had the song "Herein Hereof" (Zhèqū Zhèlǐ), Kenny Bee had the song "Unswerving Aristo" (Jūnzǐ Bùbiàn), and Maria Cordero had the song "All Roads Lead To Rome" (Lúlú Tōng) (Huáng

1990: 146-147). The lyrics of these Cantonese songs encouraged people not to be drug takers and looked for a better tomorrow. Other organisations such as the Independent Commission Against Corruption (ICAC), which is an independent civil service whose commissioner is directly responsible to the Governor, had its propaganda song "Let Me Be Frank" (Ràngwǒ Tǎn Dàngdàng), sung by Kenny Bee to educate the public in the prevention of corruption. In 1985, the elections of the Regional Council also featured a propaganda song named "One Voice" (Yībǎ Shēngyīn), sung by Michael Kwan (Huáng 1990: 146-147).

Even some religious groups in Hong Kong promoted Cantopop for their religious purposes. In June 1983, The Association for Christian Music (ACM) was established and was responsible for the production of the music album named "Singing New Songs Together" (Qíchàng Xīngē). It also helped church bodies, schools and other social agencies to organise musical gatherings, and competitions for "Singing New Songs Together" (Huáng 1990: 146). In 1986, the ACM began to work for popular music. Under the ACM, a Hong Kong band named "Equator" (Chìdào) was formed and its first album was named "A Loving World" (Yǒuqíng Tiānde). This album attempted to dilute the religious tone in order to create a pop music aura infused with religious ideas and brought about some feedback in the market (ibid). Owing to the promotion of Cantopop by Hong Kong intellectuals, government and diverse social organisations, Cantopop was no longer regarded as "low-class" after the mid-1980s.

3.4.1.2 The changing social and cultural structures in Hong Kong

The introduction of the indigenous Cantonese popular songs was closely related to a quest for cultural identity in the 1980s. Western popular songs in Hong Kong began to fade, especially after the hits of disco music such as "Saturday Night Fever" and "Grease" had gone during the 1980s. Liú (1984: 39) states that the fading of Western popular songs in the early 1980s was due to the "different generations and societal atmospheres" between Hong Kong and the West (translated by Ho Wai-chung). The change of popular taste also affected the popularity of Cantonese songs in Hong Kong (Ibid). Hong Kong people began to change from listening to Western popular songs to Cantonese popular songs. Chén (1988/89: 3) outlines two reasons for this phenomenon: the first reason is that we may not understand or are not willing to listen to songs sung in a foreign language; and the second reason is that we do not need foreign music as an amusing product. This suggests that the English language is a major obstacle for listeners and Cantopop is a way to dispense with English lyrics in popular songs. Cantonese songs began to dominate the local music market after the mid 1980s.

Moreover, "*Billboard*", an American music magazine, pointed out that the rise of Cantopop took place under the influence of the movement of "nationalism" in Hong Kong in the early 1980s (Chén & Róng 1990: 74). The Japanese Cultural Department distorted the historical fact of the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) in a Japanese history textbook in August 1982. This made the Chinese angry and there was a strong anti-Japanese

movement among the Chinese communities over the world.[103] Nevertheless, the spread of Japanese songs in Hong Kong did not stop and had a great influence on the development of Hong Kong popular songs, particularly in the first half of the 1980s. The introduction of Japanese songs was described by Sam Jor as "Japanese aggression" together with Japanese fashion, magazines and other consumer products (*The Seventies*, No.170, March 1984, p.39). Consequently, the meanings of Cantopop embodied a complex set of interactions between social and cultural changes in Hong Kong during the 1980s.

3.4.1.3 The growth of the music market and the promotion of Cantopop as a form of mass entertainment by the mass media

Besides the social and cultural factors, Choi (1990: 106) also asserts that the coming of an indigenous culture was highly recognisable in this form of mass entertainment in Hong Kong in the late seventies. The promotion of indigenous popular music has been accentuated by the mass media in six respects for these two decades: (1) the production of TV drama theme songs; (2) an allocation of time to promote Cantonese popular songs in music programmes; (3) the change from singing English popular songs to Cantonese popular songs by Hong Kong singers and the rise of more local song writers; (4) the production of magazines for mainly Cantonese popular music; (5) the opening of the Hong Kong Coliseum; (6) the flourishing music record business.

3.4.1.3.1 The production of TV drama theme songs

The development of TV production gave rise to Cantonese popular songs. As early as the late 1970s, the form of mass entertainment, including TV productions, popular songs and films signified the "emergence of an indigenous culture" (Choi 1990: 106).

Samuel Hui, a Hong Kong singer, marked the beginning of newly-emergent indigenous Cantonese popular songs. When Samuel Hui was doing his first degree at the Hong Kong University in the mid-1970s, he began to sing English tunes to Cantonese lyrics. He also performed in a very popular and famous TV programme named "Two Stars Reporting Good News" (Shuāngxīng Bàoxǐ) in the 1970s. On this TV programme, Samuel Hui started to promote Cantonese songs in the mass media which marked the beginning of Cantopop in Hong Kong. Chan (1990: 510) asserts that the monopoly of Cantonese television by the Television Broadcasts Limited (TVB) Jade played a vital role "in the birth and consolidation of Hong Kong's indigenous culture". Sandra's "A Marriage of Laughters and Tears" (Tíxiào Yīnyuán) was regarded as the first popular Cantonese drama theme song in Hong Kong in the early 1970s. Local songwriters, such as Goo Ka-fai and Lai Siu-tin wrote a lot of drama theme songs which also promoted the localisation of popular songs in Hong Kong in the late 1970s. Owing to the popularity of TV drama theme songs in the late 1970s, Canto-pop came to be "an independent cultural product in its own right" (Choi 1990: 543).

3.4.1.3.2 An allocation of time to promote Cantopop in music programmes

The trend of localisation of music was first launched by government-sponsored and private radio stations. In 1974, Radio Hong Kong (RHK) administered by the Hong Kong government began to broadcast Cantonese songs in one of their programmes "New World" (Sun Tin Dei) on RHK 2, the popular music channel. A weekly chart of top Cantonese songs was also inaugurated. The RHK supported the domestic repertoire by institutionalising the annual "Top Ten Chinese Gold Songs Awards" from 1978. This award ceremony is one of the highlights of local popular music. A similar trend of localisation was furthered by a private radio station, the Commercial Radio at the turn of the 1980s.

The Commercial Radio was late to launch the localisation. As late as 1980 and 1981, its popular music channel, Commercial Radio 2 (CR2) was described as the English song channel. In order to cater for the diminishing foreign popular song audience, CR2 broadened its audience by introducing more talk shows and Cantonese songs between 1983 and 1984 (Choi 1990: 542). English popular songs, however, still accounted for about half of the music broadcast (Ibid). Winnie Yu, after being appointed as the General Manager of Commercial Radio in mid-1988, implemented a policy of promoting local Cantonese songs for twenty-four hours in the station of CR2. As a result of these efforts of indigenisation, Cantonese songs dominated the radio music programmes. For example, in December 1988, local popular songs accounted for about 90 percent of the music programmes.[104] On December 3, 1989, the CR2 changed into a musical

station with stereo broadcasting and only a few English songs were aired (Zhōu 1990: 153).

3.4.1.3.3 *The promotion of Cantopop by Hong Kong popular artists*

The promotion of Cantopop was also due to the work of Hong Kong artists and songwriters during the 1980s. A lot of Cantonese singers, including Paula Tsui, Roman Tam, Alan Tam, Leslie Cheung, Kenny Bee changed from singing Mandarin or English songs to Cantonese ones. They became stars after they began to sing Cantonese songs (Choi 1990: 541). In the 1980s, local singing contests also promoted a few new Cantonese singers for the development of Hong Kong popular music. For example, Anita Mui and Jacky Cheung[105] are amongst the most famous competitors who won the singing contests and caught the attention of the public as well as the record companies. After 1985, a lot of Hong Kong popular bands were promoted but most of them were dissolved within a short period of time. According to Huáng (1990: 94), there were three local popular bands which represented the highlight of Cantopop in the late 1980s. These bands include "Beyond", "Tàijí" and "Dat Ming Pair".

However, most of these Cantonese popular songs copied the melodies of Japanese and other foreign popular songs. For example, five different versions of Cantonese popular songs came out at the same time, making use of new lyrics in Chinese but having the same copy of the music of the song "Careless Whisper" sung by Wham, the British band (Zhōu 1990: 156). Since the late 1980s, Hong Kong songwriters such as Goo Ka-fai, Sam Hui, Chan

Bak-keung, Lam Ji-cheung, Lowell Lo began to compose popular music for local Hong Kong singers. They have produced their own music for music entertainers to sing. Hence, Cantonese popular songs did not any longer depend much on copying the tunes of foreign popular music.

3.4.1.3.4 The flourishing magazine business for local popular music

The flourishing magazine business for local popular music has marked a significant development in opening up a youth market for popular music in Hong Kong since the 1970s. Up to the early 1970s, no journals or magazines were published for popular music, except one named *Chinese Youth Weekly* (Zhōngguó Xuéshēng Zhōubào) which introduced general youth culture and only had a column on popular music. In 1973, *Youth Weekly* (Niánchēngrén Zhóubào) was published as the first magazine devoted to popular music in Hong Kong. At the same time, the *Music and You* (Yīnyuè Yǔ Nǐ) bi-monthly magazine was published. The magazines *Music Weekly* (Yīnyuè Yízhōu) and *Good Generation* (Hǎ Shídài) were first brought out in the late 1970s (Huáng 1990: 107-108).

Moreover, the publishing business in Hong Kong flourishes with the other media: radio, TV, and films. The establishment of Publication Holdings Ltd., a publishing arm of Television Broadcasts Ltd., was set up in 1981. One of the strategies adopted by Publication Holdings is to "boost its popularity" by inviting well-known personalities in the TV or film media and writers for leisure to publish. In 1988, Tomokazu books established and made its popularity through the publication of *Siu Naam Yau Zau Gei*

(The Yuppie fantasia) series based on a story broadcast on radio (Choi 1990: 556). The first *Siu Naam Yau Zau Ge* attained 193,500 readers, i.e. about 19% of the 15-24 age group in Hong Kong (ibid). The significant feature about Tomokazu books was that they were bridging the different media: "contents and personalities from radio, popular songs, TV and films represented in the printed words" (ibid). Between 1988 and the end of 1989, just under a half of the books written were about radio DJs. Most of these books were written in "pure Cantonese, or rather the Hong Kong vernacular", adopting "colloquial expressions and words" and reflecting Hong Kong "indigenous culture and lifestyles" (Choi 1990: 556-557).

3.4.1.3.5 *The opening of Hong Kong Coliseum*

Since the opening of the Hong Kong Coliseum[106] in 1983, popular concerts become significant musical activities. Samuel Hui was the first performer in the Coliseum on May 7, 1983 (Huáng 1990: 106). In 1985, Alan Tam gave 20 concert performances in the Coliseum. During 1989, Leslie Cheung gave 33 concert performances; Anita Mui gave 28; Paula Tsui gave 32; whilst Alan Tam was recorded as giving the highest number of performances at 38. In 1989, the Hong Kong Coliseum sold 1,350,271 tickets, to the value of HK$168 million, which is about half the value of the total record sales for local songs (Choi 1990: 543). In 1989, there were in total 300,000 audience members overall for the performances of each singer. These four singers' performances in 1989 attracted on their own a total audience of more than 1,000,000 (Zhōu 1990: 133). For the smaller venue of local popular concerts,

the 3,600-seat Queen Elizabeth Stadium had receipts of HK$2 million in 1989 (Choi 1990: 543-544). Popular concerts are a sizable business as well as a "well-established form of music entertainment." Local concerts are characterised as a "show business", and not as "concert performance". Chow (1993: 392) notes that "music becomes a mere pretext, and singers, instead of performing with the voice, must excel more in their inventiveness with costumes, dancing and acrobatics". The emphasis of this type of "show business" is on "buying" the visual enjoyment. When fans go to the concerts, they like to enjoy the entertainers' stage performance, rather than their art of singing. This indicates the growth of popular music as a presentation of image. The consumer popular culture is associated with "sensational" display. Hŭang (1991: 83) notes that local concerts are a kind of "sensational consumption" (gănxìng xiāofèi) among the youth. These strong market forces are acting as an indicator of a simple measure of what a community of people wants.

3.4.1.3.6 The flourishing music record business

Benefiting from Hong Kong's thriving economy and its formidable advertising business, Cantonese popular music has flourished as a consumer product promoted by international music companies. Following the success in promoting local songs and artists enjoyed by Capital Artists (TVB's music recording arm), various record companies, especially the international ones, changed their target to exploit the local record market, instead of marketing foreign repertoire (Choi 1990: 541). In 1989 in Hong

Kong, the record scales of local popular music amounted to HK$336 million (i.e.56% of the total market), foreign popular music to HK$144 million (i.e. 24%) and non-popular music (including classical music and Cantonese operatic songs) to HK$120 million (i.e.20%).[107] In recent years, the five major international record companies - Germany's Bertelsmann, Japan's Sony music, Warner of the US and Britain's EMI and Polydor have been exploring the Asian markets and established their own offices in most Asian cities (Balfour 1993: 52).

3.4.1.4 Types of Cantopop

The development of Cantopop reflected diversification in the 1980s. Huáng (1990: 99) classifies the lyrics of Canto-pop existing from the late 1970s and 1980s in fifteen categories: (1) love; (2) optimism and struggle; (3) style of sword epic; (4) in praise of nature; (5) unpredictable life; (6) reflecting reality and satire on society; (7) fickle people; (8) individual heroism; (9) blue-collar workers; (10) children's songs; (11) life philosophy; (12) passion for one's home - country and Hong Kong; (13) hopes for peace and antiwar or "campaign songs"; (14) propaganda songs; and (15) others. In the 1980s, half of the Cantonese popular songs came from foreign tunes and these songs were mainly based on the content of "love-affairs" (Zhōu 1990: 153). The "Hong Kong Policy Transparency" (Xiānggǒng Zhèngcè Tòushì), an independent organisation, conducted a survey about the golden hits of the two local television companies (TVB and ATV) within these ten years from 1983 to 1993. 102 popular songs, out of the total 138, were recorded on love

themes (*Ming Pao*, August 28, 1994, p.B4). The "Hong Kong Policy Transparency" worried about the spread of romanticism and the promotion of a self-image which made the youth escape from social responsibility and lack the long planning of the societal aim. In a capitalist society such as Hong Kong, the prime aim of the entertainment business people, as noted by Huáng Chéng-róng, is for commercial profits and love songs have been widely promoted for this reason (ibid).

In sum, the thesis considers Cantopop as a vehicle for social, cultural and economic views, primarily as a consequence of localisation after the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration. Cantopop as a social phenomenon relates to the significance of the socio-economic context in shaping its meaning delineated in its lyrics.

3.4.2 Transmission of Hong Kong Contemporary "Serious" Music

This section describes the relations between music education and the colonial state in the development of Hong Kong contemporary "serious" music. This section argues that Hong Kong musicians outside the educational sector are more devoted than the Education Department and the Curriculum Development Council (CDC) to the promotion of Hong Kong serious music in the presentation of Hong Kong's own cultural identity.

Hong Kong contemporary "serious" music was not promoted before the 1960s. In his presentation on the "Development and Style of New Music in Hong Kong" at the conference of modern Chinese music at the Hong Kong University in September 1990, Richard Tsang, composer and

head of the Hong Kong Composers' League, criticised the development of Hong Kong music as being under "the oppressive influence of English colonisation on Hong Kong politics" (Mittler 1991: 39). He also emphasised that Hong Kong should have its own cultural development (ibid). Chan Wing-wah, a Hong Kong composer and Head of Music Department at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, also maintains that Hong Kong should look for its own cultural identity and the establishment of a new culture which can "break away from being a borrowed place in a borrowed time" (1993: 34). He suggests that the Hong Kong musical style accentuates a "strongly urbanised atmosphere, a skilled blending of western techniques and eastern aesthetics" (1993: 33). Chan emphasises that music composed by Hong Kong musicians is different from that in China and Taiwan in terms of "style and expression" (ibid). Chén (89/89: 3), however, claims that "the tree of Hong Kong's culture has two roots: one is facing China; and the other is extending to overseas. Hong Kong has to absorb its nutrients from both these sides." Being a cosmopolitan city, Hong Kong local culture is a blend of Western and Eastern aesthetics.

The development of Hong Kong serious music has been the devotion of Hong Kong composers, including composers from China, overseas returnees and overseas composers who settled in Hong Kong. During and after the Cultural Revolution, many Chinese musicians fled to Hong Kong. These Chinese musicians were regarded as the first generation for promoting Hong Kong classical music. Amongst them, Lin Sheng-shih, one of the founders of the Asian Composers' League, was named as the pioneer

in the development of Hong Kong classical music. Other Chinese musicians such as Huang Yau-tai and Chan Pui-fang also contributed a lot to the development of Hong Kong serious music.[108] For the overseas returnees, these include Doming Lam, Yip Wai-hong, Chen Chien-hua, Wong Yok-yee, Daniel Law Ping-leung, Richard Tsang, Michael Li Chau-yuan, Lam Man-yee. Moreover, David Guilt, composer and ex-chairperson of the Chinese University Music Department, influenced his students by "his middle-of-the-road style and substantial background in traditional harmony and counterpoint" (Law 1991: 230). Anne Boyd, an Australian composer and ex-chairperson of the Hong Kong University Music Department, also made her contribution to the development of serious music and music education in Hong Kong. With the hard work of Hong Kong composers, the development of local compositions has been the refinement of cultural development and identity. The past ten years marked an increase in the musical creativity of the Hong Kong style of composition and this represents the "First Golden Age"[109] of the development of Hong Kong "serious" music. The increase in the promotion and performance of local compositions in Hong Kong shows the significance of Hong Kong's own culture for music education domestically and internationally.

Domestically, local compositions have become respected in public and the status of local composers has been recognised since the 1980s. In 1983, the Hong Kong Composers' Guild[110] was established to organise concerts and promote local composers' work. In May 1984, the Hong Kong Dance adopted music written by Doming Lam, Richard Tsang, Law Wing-fai and

Law Man-yee in its dance-drama *Hong Kong Kong Kon* and the City Contemporary Dance Composition commissioned Richard Tsang to compose an electronic piece for its production of the *Hidden Domain* (Law 1991: 246). For the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of the Hong Kong City Hall, twenty-day performances named "Local Art Potpourri" (Gǒngyì Huìcuì) were programmed, starting from October 16, 1987. About 30,000 people were estimated to participate in these performances. This was the first time that Hong Kong's professional arts organisations organised this scale of musical activity. The purpose was to promote the development of Hong Kong performing arts (Chow 1988: 8). The mass media also helped promote the development of Hong Kong contemporary music. In the past, a classical music station "Radio 4" was only in English. However, a one-hour Cantonese music magazine named "Musical Kaleidoscope" (Yīnyuè Wànhuātǒng) began to broadcast on Friday night (22:00-23:00) in April 1987 (Chow 1988: 8). Prominent serious music producers such as Clive Simpson, the late Bernard Lewis, Tom Pniewski, Harrison Ryker, Richard Tsang, Chow Fan-fu and Rowan Pease, broadcasting for Radio-Television Hong Kong, have distributed a large proportion of programmes to modern music, particularly the Hong Kong musical scene (Law 1991: 229).

In terms of musical products, there were more than 500 original compositions (serious music only) written by local composers in Hong Kong between 1982 and 1992 (Chan 1993: 32). In the 1980s, the Music Office and the Hong Kong Arts Festival together promoted local compositions. From the establishment of the Music Office in 1977 to 1990, more than 200

original works were commissioned. The Hong Kong Philharmonic Orchestra (HKPO) (becoming professional in 1974)[111] began to commission local composers in 1984 and 13 local works were commissioned from 1984 to 1990 (Chan 1993: 32). Since the establishment of the Music Fund in 1981, over 60 local works had been commissioned (Chan 1993: 33). The new contributors of the Council for the Performing Arts is to sponsor concerts including local works and award commissions to local composers (ibid: 32-33). In addition, the most significant support from the Council for Performing Arts is in the form of project grants. As noted by Chow and Tsang (1986: 50), however, formerly the creation of Hong Kong serious music lacked marketing values and local composers relied on other careers to support their living. Although the situation of ticket sales is getting a lot better, as stated by John Chen, Hong Kong composers still have a long way to go (Wallis in *South China Morning Post*, September 24, 1994, The Review: P.9).[112] This is due to potential sponsors shutting their doors, causing Hong Kong composers difficulty in finding a support for their art (ibid). Jīn Zhāo-Jūn, a famous Mainland China critic of popular music, suggests that serious music (mainly symphonic music) should be promoted by marketing and by the introduction of artist's management associates, i.e. personal managers (*Sing Tao* Daily, April 10, 1995, p.A10.)[113]

Moreover, Hong Kong musicians and drama groups have highly promoted the local musicals performed in Hong Kong. Eric Pun, a lawyer-turned playwright and composer of Cantonese musicals, and his musical organisation produced the Cantonese musical named "Dream of the Gold

Mansion" (Huángjīnwū), staged in 1986-87 and established the important role of local cultural arts in Hong Kong.[114] However, Eric Pun criticises Cantonese musicals as underdeveloped. This was due to the shortage of "tradition and the poor infrastructure support" in Hong Kong (Rosario 1994: 86).

Internationally, Hong Kong local compositions have been taken up by international organisations performing local contemporary music and have been performed overseas and gained recognition. In 1983, the work of Lam Man-yee's "Portraits" (Qúnxiàng) and Law Wing-fa's "Drunken Village" (Zuìxiāng) had good results in international competitions (Lí 1984: 3). The International Society of Contemporary Music (ISCM) and the Asian Composers' League (ACL) presented their joint World Music Days Festival at Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts (APA) in October 1988. More than 150 overseas musicians and composers from over 40 countries participated in this first "world-wide" contemporary music festival and the Hong Kong performing company displayed the latest techniques in electronic Hong Kong contemporary music (*Newsletter* of the Hong Kong Society for Music Education, September 1988, P.9). In 1988 the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra gave a China premiere of six Hong Kong orchestral pieces, and a seminar given by the six composers concerned was held in Shanghai. The Boston and HK premieres of local composer Richard Tsang's music was given by the Boston Symphony Orchestra in 1989. Five more local orchestral works were performed at international festivals in Tokyo, Sendai (Japan) and Toronto in 1990. In the same year, ten Hong Kong

chamber works were performed in the Purcell Room of the South Bank Centre in London during an event called Hong Kong Week (Chan 1993: 33).

Despite the contribution of Hong Kong musicians, the new Hong Kong local compositions could not find their position in the formal music curriculum in schools in the 1980s. The 1983 *Syllabus for Junior Secondary Schools (Forms I-III)* does not mention the introduction of contemporary Hong Kong music in the curriculum. It only suggests the inclusion of modern unison songs in the repertoire of singing activities (p.4). For the *1987 Syllabus for General Music (Forms IV-V)*, local contemporary works (examples of music written by local composers) is one (out of the total 13) of the suggested topics in listening activities (p.9). Friederichs (1991: 201) criticises the Hong Kong Government for never having "systematically examined or tried to meet the needs of the local Hong Kong Chinese culture."[115] From the musical perspective, Hong Kong students should not only enjoy western culture but also their own culture. The introduction of local compositions at the secondary level cannot only be regarded as an enrichment of the understanding of local musical creation through artistic experience, but also as a promotion of and cooperation with the local cultural and academic circles.

To sum up, Hong Kong music education did not take place in a vacuum, but was developed within a framework of historical, societal, political, economic and cultural factors during the 1980s. The apparent tension caused in current Hong Kong music education has a major problem to tackle, namely the building of an education system to reconcile the

ideological contradictions among the arenas of politics, economy and culture.

3.4 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This chapter has described the relationships of political culture between Hong Kong and mainland China, and the rise of Hong Kong indigenous local music, through a discussion of the relations between music, politics, culture, and economics during the period 1984-89. During this transitional period, music has been marked by an interplay between political, cultural and commercial forces, as well as educational ones.

This chapter has argued that political, cultural and commercial forces have interacted with each other over a relatively long colonial period in Hong Kong. The Hong Kong state did not enforce its political value system of arts development in society but it exhibited a "hidden" political agenda: not to annoy the China state. Music in Hong Kong was affected by traditional Western culture, traditional Chinese culture, and Hong Kong indigenous popular culture. Cultural differences in values, beliefs and behavioural patterns were manifested during the interactions between these cultures. The changing social and cultural structures, the flourishing music magazine business, the booming music record industry and the opening of the Hong Kong Coliseum have promoted the growth and consumption of local popular music. Hong Kong musicians and other music organisations such as the Music Office, Hong Kong Composers' Guild as well as the Hong Kong Philharmonic Orchestra also worked for the promotion of Hong Kong contemporary classical music during the 1980s. This interaction has had

a significant impact on the nature of the music education system, which has been apparent following the official inauguration of the return of Hong Kong to the PRC in 1984.

The next inquiry (Part Two including Chapters Four and Five) will discuss the intrinsic relations between the extreme socio-political transformation, the general Hong Kong education system, the Hong Kong music education system, and the other diverse social agencies with reference to the political events of the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration and the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident. Chapter Four will outline Hong Kong music education entering a stage of contradiction during and after the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident, with the promotion of democratic and political popular songs outside the school environment. This contradiction will be explained with reference to the limits of freedom of expression in the ideology of "one country, two systems". Chapter Five will highlight the politicisation of the overall education system and the monopoly of the state over the music education system in Hong Kong.

PART TWO

THE IMPACT OF THE 1984 AND 1989 POLITICAL EVENTS

CHAPTER FOUR

SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS AND STRUGGLES FOR FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND DEMOCRATIC MUSICAL MEANING

4.1 PURPOSE AND ARGUMENT

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the socio-political changes, struggles for freedom of expression and democratic delineated meaning in music in relation to the political events of the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration and the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident.

The main argument of this chapter is that formal music education in Hong Kong is more "closed" than the socio-political structures and other social institutions such as the music industry with respect to the transmission of concepts of democracy and political freedom. Outside the school environment, the rise of Cantonese popular songs with democratic political meaning has created tensions in Hong Kong music education.

This chapter will first examine the open confrontation (not a physical war) between the colonial state of Hong Kong and Mainland China, as well as its implications within the framework of "one-country, two systems".

4.2 SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS BEFORE AND AFTER 1989

4.2.1 The Implications of the Policy of "One Country, Two Systems" in Hong Kong Before and After the 1989 Democratic Movement

4.2.1.1 The period of compromise: before 1989

This section describes the policy of the Hong Kong state and its people

towards the PRC government before the 1989 June 4th Incident. It argues that the Hong Kong state and its people attempted to avoid offending the PRC authorities owing to the colonial political and Chinese cultural traditions within the domestic configuration and lack of self-determination at the international level.

Domestically, the Confucian influence endures in the social customs and family socialisation in Hong Kong. The concept of centralisation and obedience has been interwoven in the fabric of Chinese life. All human relations of Confucianism are rooted in loyalty and submissiveness. Yee (1992: 187) suggests that "traditional Chinese kinship relations are highly structured and sociocentric" and that the function of the social unit is to extend the family. In comparison, the West emphasises the "individual and the nuclear family" relationship more (Ibid). The "harmony" and "stability" of Confucianism is established on the "people's obedience, the ruler's 'morality', and family relationship as the basis of the society" (Ho 1992: 191). Thus correct ritual behaviour and proper social relationships emphasise the values of the group at the expense of the individual in Chinese traditions.

Although political parties are integral parts of democracy in modern societies, the term "political party" indicates negative implications among Hong Kong Chinese. Lau & Kuan (1989: 74) found in 1985, that only 34.8% of the respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the belief that emergence of political parties would make the political system of Hong Kong better. Lau (1990: 205) observes that 50.5% of the respondents resisted the

formation of political parties in Hong Kong in 1988. The consequence of this attitude towards politics was that no political parties existed in Hong Kong before 1989. Findings from the two surveys also revealed that 43.9% of the respondents in 1985 and 49.3% of the respondents in 1988 believed that "any government which consults the people is a democratic one" (Kuan 1991: 778). Only 23.2% and 16.6% of the respondents respectively regarded "an elected government as democratic" (ibid). Thus the concept of democracy had never been seriously addressed to Hong Kong people before the June 4th Incident in 1989. Non-democratic British colonial bureaucracy was reinforced by the traditional Chinese system, enabling Hong Kong people to maintain a period of compromise with the PRC before 1989.

Internationally, Hong Kong is not a sovereign state and must determine its political and diplomatic relations through Great Britain and China. The process of decolonisation does not focus on the independence of Hong Kong, but rather on the reintegration with its original mother country, China. Therefore, the understanding of the Sino-British Joint Declaration does not represent the wishes of all three sides of the triangular relation - China, Britain and the people of Hong Kong - because Hong Kong people have fallen out of this relation and do not have any real autonomy. Liáng Yàn-chéng (1988/89: 7) also points out that "Hong Kong people have no root and no autonomy. Hong Kong is controlled by a stronger authority and its politics is organised by the board of management having China and Great Britain at the back" (translated by Ho Wai-chung). Hong Kong has a lack of self-determination and is not a "political entity". Moreover, the

time factor of the imminent 1997 implies that London has to return Hong Kong to China but will not be able to return the authority to the Hong Kong people. According to Cottrell (1993: 178), one of the main and mutually reinforcing factors that can be identified in Hong Kong's resistance to democracy was pressure from China on Britain not to move Hong Kong in the direction of self-governing and self-determining territory.

Many writers have suggested that tensions caused by the political contradictions between the PRC and Hong Kong have been attempted to be resolved by depoliticising Hong Kong. "One-country, two-systems", as argued by Das (1993: 154), is a method of breaking up "non-antagonistic contradictions for the realisation of China's quest for national reunification." The concept of "one-country, two-systems" does not mean "two sovereign states within one country", nor "two competing entities within one country".[1] Hsing (1987: 89) claims that "the model of 'one-country, two systems' has been used by the Chinese Communists in their united-front strategy against the Republic of China on Taiwan." On the one hand, China reasserted its policy of "one country, two systems" formula under which Hong Kong may retain capitalism for fifty years after 1997. On the other hand, China warned Hong Kong that it must not become a base to subvert China.[2] Deng Xiaoping even said that socialism practiced in Mainland China and capitalism in Hong Kong could coexist and develop side by side for a long time. He emphasised that Hong Kong would "remain unchanged for a long time to come" but this did not influence "socialism on the mainland" (Deng 1993: 7). This makes sure that Hong Kong will be

subject to the rule of the PRC after 1997.

Although Hong Kong has social and economic structures distinguishable from modern China, a rationale turns out to be "at once a departure from dominant Chinese values and a continuation of Chinese heritage" which constrained Hong Kong to be silent about its takeover by China in 1997 (Leung 1989: 1).

4.2.1.2 Open confrontation between Hong Kong and Mainland China: after 1989

This section attempts to describe the political conflicts between Hong Kong and Mainland China after 1989. The relations between the state of Hong Kong, the mass media, educational and non-educational sectors in the promotion of political values in Hong Kong will be described during and after 1989. The section argues that Hong Kong changed its policy from not offending Mainland China to publicly expressing views conflicting with the Beijing authorities over specific issues after the Tiananmen Square Incident so as to institutionalise human rights in Hong Kong. The open confrontation of Hong Kong with Mainland China took place at four levels: (1) the public protests of the masses in Hong Kong against the PRC's ways of handling the students' movement in Beijing; (2) the attempt of the Hong Kong state to quicken political reform despite the consistent objection of the PRC authorities; (3) the formation of political parties in Hong Kong, particularly the Democratic Party led by Martin Lee; and (4) the economic power of Hong Kong.

4.2.1.2.1 The public protests of Hong Kong people against the PRC

At the level of the masses, Hong Kong people, regardless of their social class and political positions, expressed their views through public channels, particularly newspapers, during and immediately after the Tiananmen Square Incident in 1989. In May and June 1989, hundreds of declarations by individuals and groups were made in the form of "advertisements" in newspapers to support the aspirations of the students' movement in Beijing and to protest against the military suppression of the movement by the PRC authorities. The "advertisers" included the educational sector (such as universities,[3] colleges of education,[4] government secondary schools,[5] and government aided secondary schools[6]), and the non-educational sector (such as business people[7] and professionals[8]).

Even many PRC official and semi-official organisations stationed in Hong Kong broke away from their former practice of defending mainland policy to express their own stance conflicting with the Beijing authorities over the interpretation of the students' movement in Tiananmen Square. These organisations include the Kwantung provincial Bank,[9] *Wen Wei Pao* Daily News,[10] Kwantung Provincial Association,[11] and other mainland-controlled companies.[12] They expressed their sympathy towards the Beijing people who suffered from the brutal suppression of democracy and freedom by the mainland state. The staff of the Bank of China even accused mainland Premier Li Peng of "distorting facts and going against the people's wishes" (Wilson 1990: 220). An official newspaper of mainland China, *Wen Wei Pao* expressed its sorrow in a headline, "Painful Heart and Aching

Head," in its front page on June 4, 1989 (ibid).

Another form which showed the public confrontation of Hong Kong people with mainland China was their demonstrations. The Hong Kong Chinese including students expressed publicly their political views. When the emergency decree was declared in Beijing, 40,000 people of all ages and classes reportedly answered the call of the president of the Hong Kong Professional Teachers' Union (HKPTU) to march peacefully to the New China News Agency (NCNA) in Hong Kong on May 20, 1989 to protest against the Beijing ways of handling the students' movement. On the next day, a mass demonstration which was jointly organised by the HKPTU, the student unions, and other associations took place. A slogan propagated in this demonstration was, "today Beijing is suppressed; tomorrow Hong Kong will have the same fate." This slogan captured and expressed the anxieties of the Hong Kong Chinese over the future transfer from Hong Kong to the PRC in 1997. On June 4, 1989, about 1.5 million Hong Kong people reportedly demonstrated and expressed their gratitude to the pro-democratic students' movement in Mainland China.[13] For the three following consecutive Sundays in June 1989, Hong Kong people marched in orderly fashion and expressed their disagreement with Li Peng over the imposition of martial law and crackdown on students. The first march attracted over half a million people, the second about one and a half million, and the third about a million (Wilson 1990: 220). Despite the decrease in the number of participants, annual demonstrations to commemorate the Tiananmen Square Incident still took place after 1989: e.g.10,000 in 1990;

10,000 in 1991; 8,000 in 1992; 3,500 in 1993, 3,000 in 1994; and 2,750 in 1995 (*Ming Pao*, May 29, 1995, p.2).

As a result of these public protests, Hong Kong was branded by the PRC as a "base of subverting" Mainland China. Also the leading Hong Kong supporters of the Beijing students' movement, Martin Lee and Szeto Wah[14] (who were leaders of anti-Tiananmen demonstrations and who were expelled from the Basic Law Drafting Committee[15] because of their engagement in activities incompatible with the drafters' status) were labelled as "counter-revolutionaries" by the Beijing authorities. Zhàng Jùn-shēng, the deputy chairman of the New China News Agency (NCNA) in Hong Kong, claimed that the conversation and behaviour of Martin Lee cannot be regarded as "loving China and loving Hong Kong" (Hè 1991: 25; translated by Ho Wai-chung).

4.2.1.2.2 Chris Patten's political reform in 1992

After the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident, the open confrontation of Hong Kong with Mainland China over the domestic political affairs in Hong Kong was led by the colonial state.[16]

In 1992, the newly inaugurated Governor, Chris Patten, proposed a plan of political reform in his first policy speech, namely an enlargement of the franchise of constituencies in the election of members of the Hong Kong Legislative Council in 1995.[17] However, his plan was condemned by the PRC's officials as "three antis" -- against the Sino-British Joint Declaration, against the Basic Law, and against the "spirit" of cooperation between

Mainland and British governments. The mainland authorities frequently asserted that any change in the existing constitutional structure in Hong Kong must be approved by them before implementation, and threatened Hong Kong with the claim that China would build a "new kitchen" or "second stove" (i.e. to restructure the political system) in Hong Kong if Patten's proposal was launched.[18] The PRC even sent a message to the Hong Kong government and people saying that "if you are not fully with Beijing, you are against it" (*South China Morning Post*, May 20, 1994, p.18).

Despite the PRC's objection, the political reform proposal was supported by the general public of Hong Kong as indicated in various surveys (Lam 1993: 61). After a series of controversies between Mainland China and Hong Kong, and between local political parties in Hong Kong for two years, Patten's political reform plan was passed by the Legislative Council (Legco) after three readings on June 30, 1994. This political reform plan is described as the "bone of contention between the British and Chinese governments" and the Bill was passed "without an agreement" with the Chinese government (Ng 1994: 17).

On August 31, 1994, 127 members of the National People's Congress (NPC) Standing Committee in Beijing voted unanimously to terminate Hong Kong's political structure on July 1, 1997, including the three tiers of government elected between 1994 and 1995.[19] The New China News Agency (NCNA) announced that the political structure based on Chris Patten's "reform package" would be abolished and a new one would be established

after the handover of Hong Kong's sovereignty to China on July 1, 1997 (*Guardian* September 1, 1994).[20] The PRC authorities would empower the Preliminary Working Committee (PWC)[21] or the Preparatory Committee for the formation of the first government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (SAR) to modify the existing structure. This reaction to Patten's reform package, as argued by Lo (1994: 178), "probably marks the temporary and short-lived nature of democratisation" in Hong Kong from now to 1997.

4.2.1.2.3 Formation of political parties in Hong Kong

To strive for the institutionalisation of social and political rights, Martin Lee and Szeto Wah formed the Hong Kong Democratic Association in Hong Kong in September 1989. Other political groups with different political orientations were also organised during the early 1990s. For example, "pro-China" capitalists such as Lo Tak-shing formed the New Hong Kong Alliance with some middle class conservatives.[22] According to DeGolyer (1994: 93), by the middle of 1994 twelve parties (including two new pro-Beijing groups and one Kuomingtang (KMT)-related group) joined preparations for the September 1994 elections.

In April 1994, the United Democrats of Hong Kong (UDHK) and Meeting Point (MP) decided to merge and construct a bigger party - the Democratic Party (DP). This was evidence that the democrats realised "the need to form a more powerful bloc to balance off Chinese pressure" (Lam 1995: 58). On September 17, 1995, the Democratic Party, led by Martin Lee,

won more seats than any other in the elections of the Legislative Council. Together with independent allies such as Christine Loh and Emily Lau, it controls 31 out of 60 seats (19 seats of the Democratic Party, 7 seats of Democratic Independents, and 5 seats of the Allied Party) (*Guardian Education*, October 3, 1995).[23] The Democratic Alliance for the Betterment of Hong Kong (DAB), the biggest pro-China party, won only six seats out of the eleven DAB candidates (Rosario 1995: 17). It was the first time for the colonial state of Hong Kong to have every seat of the Legislative Council contested through elections which infuriated China both in their organisation and their result. Martin Lee views the result of the election as reflecting Hong Kong people voting "with their hearts and minds for freedom and genuine democracy" (Rosario 1995: 16). Nevertheless, pro-China newspapers in Hong Kong claim that the elections were characterised by "chaos" and "unfair arrangement" (Chin in *South Morning Post*, October 5, 1995, p.8). *Dai Kung Pao*, a pro-China newspaper in Hong Kong, notes that the 1995 election was "dominated by low turnout and numerous complaints" (ibid). In its opinion, this reflects the indifferent attitude of Hong Kong people towards Chris Patten's political reform.

4.2.1.2.4 The Economic Power of Hong Kong

Despite the controversies between Hong Kong and Mainland China over political affairs, the economy of Hong Kong was not slowed down between 1990 and 1995. According to the Financial Secretary, Hamish Macleod, inflation was kept at the level of 8.5% in 1993 (Karp 1994: 46). Real GDP

was estimated to expand by around 5.5% for the first half of 1995, compared with 5.4% in the second half of 1994 (*Economic Report*, July 1995). A HK$7.7 billion budget surplus was forecast for the year of 1995 (*Economic Report*, March 1995). The Financial Secretary of Hong Kong announced a deficit budget for 1995-1996, following eleven consecutive years of surpluses (ibid). The stock market and property market kept growing.

Despite Hong Kong's political crisis, foreign companies feel confidence in Hong Kong's economy. Regardless of high labour and accommodation cost and political uncertainty, Hong Kong continues to be an attractive business centre in the Asia-Pacific territory with a 26% increase in the number of regional operations set up by foreign companies (Wong in *South China Morning Post*, December 21, 1994, p.1). A survey conducted by the Industry Department showed that in between 1980 and 1984, there was an average of twenty new regional headquarters established each year. From 1985 to 1989 the average number increased to forty-four and the number further rose to fifty-three from 1990 to 1993. The business includes wholesale/retail, import/export, followed by manufacturing, finance and transport (Wong in *South China Morning Post*, December 21, 1994, p.2). In other words, Hong Kong economy is not affected by the unstable political situation and the prosperous economy has earned the confidence of Hong Kong people. Hong Kong people, as the writer suggests, use their "economic power" to bargain with the PRC state when it is introducing its national economic reform. In particular, the role of Hong Kong has been very important in China's coastal economic development. Thus the current

economic liberalisation in Mainland China has also provided a chance for Hong Kong to have an open confrontation with the PRC.

4.2.2 Other Socio-political Changes

4.2.2.1 The limitation of democracy in Hong Kong

This section demonstrates the non-democratic nature of colonial rule with reference to the domination of the colonial state over domestic affairs, the low political participation in District Board and municipal council elections, and the late direct election of the Legislative Council (Legco) in 1991.

The concept of democracy among Hong Kong people, as argued by Lau (1992: 134), is a "dichotomous view of society and government". John Walden, the Director of Home Affairs in Hong Kong from 1975 to 1980, said, "throughout the thirty years that I was an official....from 1951 to 1981, 'democracy' was a dirty word. Officials were convinced that the introduction of democratic policies into Hong Kong would be the quickest and surest way to ruin Hong Kong's economy and create social and political instability...." (Cottrell 1993: 178). Hong Kong people have "sufficient political freedom" but are sanctioned by only "limited democracy" under colonial rule (Yeh 1990: 96). Hong Kong people have little civil freedom under the colonial law, as suggested by Burns, and the Hong Kong government have "near totalitarian powers" (1987: 667-678). This is evidenced in the domination of the colonial state over the "democratised" Legislative Council (with less than half of its members elected directly) in the issue of rates increase. The three main local political parties (the United Democrats, Meeting Point, and

the Liberal Party) which together represented thirty-two votes (slightly more than half of the total) in the Legislative Council supported an amendment seeking a lower level of rates in June, 1994. Governor Chris Patten, however, used the Royal Instructions[24] to refuse to let the amendment on freezing the rates increase go to the Legislative Council for discussion. As a result, one of the legislators, Szeto Wah, argued that Chris Patten had "double standards": allowing people to modify his political reform plans to enlarge the franchise of constituencies, but not this amendment.[25] Lau and Kuan (1989: 50) note that Hong Kong has no political rights to be protected against the government and the construction of social rights is similarly restrictive.

The political involvement of the Hong Kong Chinese is relatively low.[26] The Hong Kong political system and the advocation of political freedom were not seriously questioned by Hong Kong people. Hong Kong Chinese have no interest in politics and try not to get involved in political affairs. The traditional notion of politics can be found in a Chinese saying, "Do not enter the door of the officials when you are alive and do not go to hell after death". According to the study by Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, Hong Kong's political culture can be identified as a "parochial-subject" political culture, rather than a "participant" political culture (Kuan 1991: 777). The right of democratic participation of Hong Kong people was less valued and emphasised. This is shown in the low participation among Hong Kong people in the elections of the District Board and the municipal council. The turnout rates of the District Board elections held in 1982, 1985,

1988, 1991 and 1994 were 38.9%, 37.5%, 30.3%, 32.5% and 33.1% respectively. Against the number of eligible voters, the voter turnout rates are reduced to 12.3%, 16.4%, 12.5%, 11.5% and 17.5% respectively (Lau & Kuan 1995: 4). The participation of Hong Kong Chinese in the municipal council elections is comparatively low. The voter turnout rates in the municipal councils elections in 1983, 1986, 1989, 1991 were 22.4%, 26.9%, 17.6% and 23.1% respectively. The corresponding figures related to the number of eligible voters are much lower, being 6.1%, 12.1%, 5.9% and 10.7% respectively (Lau & Kuan 1995: 4-5).

The direct election to the Legislative Council (Legco) did not come before September 15, 1991. Louie (1993: 14) says that the voter turnout rate did not exceed 50%, i.e. more than half of the qualified voters did not go for the 1991 election. Scott (1992: 21) also identifies that the reason why Hong Kong voters were not deeply involved in the 1991 election, was because people have traditionally distanced themselves "from politics and from government".[27] Even on September 17th 1995, only 36% of registered voters went to the polls (i.e. 1 million of Hong Kong's 2.6 million voters) (*The Economist*, September 23, 1995, p.12 & p.76 & Rosario 1995: 16).[28]

4.2.2.2 The interference of Chinese sovereignty on Hong Kong's internal affairs: before 1997

In order to expand its power and its influence in Hong Kong, the Chinese government has made use of diverse campaigns, including "persuasion, co-option and intimidation" (Lam 1995: 61).[29] The Beijing authorities have increased their political, economic and cultural influence in Hong Kong (Lau

& Rosario 1995: 30). For the benefit of exercising its sovereignty over Hong Kong, China has strengthened its links to form a united front strategy through the following channels: the New China News Agency (Hong Kong Branch), the Hong Kong representatives of China's National People's Congress (NPC) and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, and the Federation of Trade Unions, the formation of pro-China political parties such as the DAB (Lam 1995: 62). The Bank of China (Hong Kong Branch) and other Chinese owned enterprises have practised their influence on Hong Kong's economy. Since 1994, the Bank of China is authorised to issue Hong Kong banknotes. The two pro-China newspapers, *Dai Kung Pao* and *Wen Wei Pao*, maintain a stable readership and circulation in Hong Kong. The PRC has also fully sustained its official positions in the Sino-British Joint Liaison Group (JIG),[30] the Land Commission, and the Airport Commission to give its opinions on Hong Kong (Lam 1995: 63).

Zhàng Jùn-shēng, as quoted in sayings from the *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, clarifies that the three principles required to regard Hong Kong people as China's patriots are: (1) respecting the Chinese nation; (2) supporting the reunion of Hong Kong's sovereignty to Mainland China; and (3) promoting the prosperity of Hong Kong (*Ming Pao*, February 2, 1995, p.A2). Therefore, the PRC has chosen to exclude members of the Democratic Party from its second batch of district affairs advisers on January 9, 1995.[31] Although Martin Lee's liberal Democratic Party is Hong Kong's largest political party, Beijing ascertains "no room" for Lee's party in its future Special Administrative Region (Rosario 1995: 18). This allows the mainland

officials to elect Hong Kong people who love and will support China after the run-up to 1997. Tsang Yuk-sing, leader of the DAB, asserts that it is essential to expect China to appoint people who can work and co-operate with the PRC authorities (*South China Morning Post*, January 11 1995, p.16).

To sum up, owing to the influence of traditional Chinese thinking and British colonial rule, Hong Kong was sheltered under the culture of authority and obedience before the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident. However, the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident challenged Hong Kong people to fight for a democratic government and ask for a faster pace in democratic reforms. The open confrontation with the PRC government took place at the level of the masses, and the colonial state as well as democratic political parties fighting for political rights after the 1997. These public clashes between Hong Kong and Mainland China represented the Hong Kong people's realisation of the differences in the perceptions and practice of human rights, and signified their attempts to secure their own social and political rights after 1997. However, the realm of democracy and political rights is also restricted by the bureaucratic Hong Kong state and the exercise of Chinese authority over Hong Kong before 1997.

4.3 FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND OTHER POLITICAL RIGHTS

This section describes the interpretation of the colonial state with reference to the right of freedom of expression to be sought in the form of music or through other forms of media, either orally, visually or in print.

4.3.1 Self-censorship of The Mass Media[32]

This section argues that self-censorship as a political compromise and as an expression of self-discipline in a free market economy is practised under the cover of market forces in Hong Kong so as not to challenge its future upper hand - the existing PRC state and the future HKSAR state.

The most fundamental restriction of freedom of expression in Hong Kong, as explained by Ghai (1992: 372), "came from the very nature of the colonial enterprise." The policy to prohibit the expression of views that might offend China can be traced to the 1907 Hong Kong's Chinese Publications (Prevention) Ordinance which legalised the prevention of seditious publications against the Chinese government.[33] This shows that the Hong Kong state did not intend to get involved in a risky, abusive or inharmonious relationship with the Beijing authorities as early as the beginning of the twentieth century. The mass media in Hong Kong have been subject to a series of control measures by the government as written in the Code of Practice. Licensing is a common means for the government to control the mass media to ensure effective governing of Hong Kong.[34] The Hong Kong Journalists Association (HKJA) has suggested that the following laws should be reviewed as they may be used to limit freedom of expression in Hong Kong: Film Censorship Ordinance (political censorship); Places of Public Entertainment Ordinance (prohibitions); Summary Offenses Ordinance (section 4-29, on loud hailers); Public Order Ordinance (control of meetings and processions); Defamation Ordinance (criminal libel) (in Henderson 1993: 159).

Not only formal state censorship, but also self-censorship of the mass media run by private commercial enterprises in Hong Kong is a deliberate and calculated act to avoid offending the PRC régime. According to Rafferty (91/92: 61), local journalists allege that "self-censorship of the Chinese language press has increased" since the passing of the Basic Law. Nevertheless, the political role of the Hong Kong news media was heightened by the pro-democratic Beijing students' movement. Some Hong Kong news media openly attacked the attitudes of the PRC government in handling the case of Beijing students' pro-democratic movement. Immediately after the 1989 June 4th Incident, the Beijing authorities had criticised the Hong Kong media for spreading, from the media's point of view, "the truth about the massacre" (Rosario 1989: 19). The *People's Daily*, the PRC party newspaper, also condemned the Hong Kong media for "distorting facts and sensational reporting" over the massacre (ibid). Under this circumstance, some Hong Kong news media attempted not to further annoy the PRC government and self-censorship of the news media was highly exercised in Hong Kong after the Incident.[35] For example, in the mid 1980s, the Sino-Hong Kong newspaper *Modern Mankind* was a liberal journal backing political and economic reforms and several editors were activists in the 1989 pro-democracy demonstrations. After the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident, *Modern Mankind* moved away from sensitive areas and covered less sensitive areas such as cultural affairs. However, China shut down its branches of the newspaper *Modern Mankind* following a decision by Yu Pun-hoi to attempt independent distribution of the paper

within the PRC. This was seen as a threat to state control of the media and therefore swift action was taken (Karp 1995: 78). Another striking example concerned the founder of Hong Kong Giordano Holdings clothing chain and Next Media group, Jimmy Lai, who got into trouble when he described Chinese Premier Li Peng as being like a "turtle's egg" in a column in his *Next* magazine (Karp 1995: 55).[36] The Beijing authorities closed a Giordano store in Beijing and Lai resigned as chairman and director of Giordano (Karp 1995: 55). Recently, Larry Feign, a well-known Hong Kong political cartoonist, was dismissed from the leading English-language newspaper, *South China Morning Post,* in Hong Kong. Some colleagues at the *South China Morning Post* suggested that the dismissal of Feign was believed to be due to Feign's cartoons about Chinese organ transplants from executed criminals which annoyed the PRC government very much. In order to avoid confrontation with the Bejing authorities, the dismissal of Feign was the consequence.[37] Li Yi, the editor-in-chief of a China-watching magazine in Hong Kong, advised that the Beijing authorities could make "free closures [of magazines critical of China] or make arrest" (Roscario 1994: 28). According to the survey conducted by the joint RTHK-HK journalists Association in 1995, Hong Kong's news media in 1995 were recognised as "less professional and responsible" than in 1994.[38] There was a sharp drop from 59% in 1994 to only 42% in 1995 of the public who believed that the news media behaved responsibly in Hong Kong (Editorial, *South China Morning Post*, August 5, 1995, p.14).

Self-censorship of mass media is seen as a compelling threat to press

freedom of expression. Although the colonial state grants various degrees of freedom of expression to Hong Kong composers and singers, the mass media which is responsible for the selection of music for broadcasting exercises self-discipline. For example, democratic songs (with lyrics embedded with idea of freedom, with messages promoting the concepts of political pluralism, denouncing the ideas of one-party totalitarian rule and/or advocating the idea of political freedom) were broadcast by radio daily before the 1989 pro-democratic students' movement in Beijing. The frequency of broadcast democratic songs declined after the crackdown on the students' movement. Hong Kong radio broadcasters treated these songs as "low profile" (Dītiào) and disc jockeys did not initiate any discussion of the Beijing students' movement with the audience (Zhōu 1990: 163). In the programmes of two major broadcasting companies, Television Broadcast Limited (TVB) and Asia Television Limited (ATV) which are commercial enterprises, democratic songs were excluded from the "Golden Hits" of the companies. In 1994, the TVB refused to air two documentaries: *Mao, the Last Emperor* which highlighted the mistakes of Mao, and *Laogai* which describes the conditions of jails for political prisoners in the PRC. The ATV attempted to suspend the broadcast of a Spanish documentary about the Tiananmen Square massacre which was scheduled for May 27, 1994. As a result, six ATV journalists resigned to protest against self-censorship. Under this pressure, the ATV finally released the documentary as scheduled.

4.3.2 Contradictions of Freedom of Expression in the Ideology of "One Country, Two Systems"

The announcement of the Basic Law at the National People's Congress (NPC) in March 1990 signifies Hong Kong's formal entry into a period of real transition for the preparation of China's foreign policy "one country, two systems" after 1997. This section examines the assumptions underlying the freedom of expression governed by the merging constitutional order in the colonial state of Hong Kong. The two dominant frameworks in the new constitutional order are the Bill of Rights and the Basic Law of the HKSAR. The former came into effect in June 1991 and the latter will be effective from July 1997. This section will follow the line of Ghai's argument, that the orientation of the Basic Law and that of the Bill of Rights towards freedom of expression are "probably quite different" (Ghai 1992: 369).

The inherent contradictions of the scope of freedom between China and Hong Kong appear as two different systems, communism and capitalism, which are characterised by three features: (1) the constitutional tension revealing the convergent pattern of "one country, two systems"; (2) the PRC government 's interpretations of the issue of human rights; and (3) the PRC's concept of the rule of law and the independence of the Hong Kong judicial system.

4.3.2.1 The inherent contradiction of the Basic Law

The Basic Law has an inherent constitutional contradiction in the provision of political freedom to Hong Kong people. The issue of the Hong Kong people's expectation of increased freedom of expression becomes more

pronounced as attempts are made to reconcile the problem of "one country two systems".

Wū Wèi-Yóng, Chairman of the Cultural Department of the Preliminary Working Committee (PWC), notes that "the spirit of one country, two systems can be found in the Basic Law which emphasises the preservation of the original cultural style and characteristics of Hong Kong."[39] However, the preservation of Hong Kong culture does not necessarily mean the promotion of political freedom through which people can express their viewpoints in music and other art forms. For China, the question of freedom of expression is a question of ultimate autonomy from official interpretation. On the one hand, Hong Kong residents after 1997, as promised by Article 27 of the Basic law, shall have freedom of speech, of the press, and of publication; freedom of association, of assembly, of procession, and of demonstration. Article 34 also promises that Hong Kong residents will have freedom in academic research, literary and artistic creation, and other cultural activities. Article 30 protects the "freedom and privacy of communication" (subject to the right of authorities to inspect communications in accordance with legal procedures to meet the needs of public security or with investigation of criminal offences) (Ghai 1992: 401, Notes 1). On the other hand, Hong Kong people should be prohibited from performing any act of treason, sedition or subversion, the theft of State secrets against the Central People's Government of the PRC. Foreign political organisations or bodies would also be banned from conducting political activities in the SAR, and political organisations or bodies in the

future SAR will be prevented from establishing ties with foreign political organisations or bodies. Therefore, the Basic Law, as suggested by Rafferty (91/92: 64), would not tolerate anyone who challenged the policies of the PRC.

Zhèng Xīn-wén also believes that "the [development of] arts will be affected by the issue of 1997" (Zhèng in *Ming Pao*, 3rd June 1994, p.12; translated by Ho Wai-chung). The fear of "direct censorship through legislature or indirect censorship through funding or administrative procedure" is anticipated in the Hong Kong arts community (Ho 1994: 62). The "conditional" freedom is given by the PRC state on the condition that the Hong Kong state will follow the Beijing policy. In other words, there is a question of whether there is room for debate about what counts as freedom of expression in the Basic Law.

4.3.2.2 The issue of human rights[40]

Hong Kong people were aware of the different domains of human rights between Hong Kong and China, and the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident intensified public demand for the incorporation of the Bill of Rights by the Hong Kong government. The Bill of Rights was suggested to provide a legal basis for the protection of people's basic rights. Besides the International Covenant on Civil and political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economics, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), Hong Kong enacted the 1991 Bills of Rights Ordinance to ensure that "rights and freedoms" can be enjoyed by Hong Kong people (*Hong Kong 1994: A Review*

of 1993, 1994: 40). On June 6, 1991, the Bill of Rights became part of the Royal Instructions as well as the Hong Kong constitutional order. However, Britain did not adopt a positive attitude to fight for human rights for Hong Kong people. In June 1994, the British parliament refused to establish the Human Rights Commission in Hong Kong for fear that the Commission might not last beyond 1997.[41]

Human rights after the PRC's takeover in 1997 is one of the important issues challenging Hong Kong today. China has its own interpretation of what constitutes human rights. The Western area of human rights is restricted or controlled by the Beijing authorities. To Beijing, the catch-phrase of human rights denotes freedom and equality which are of Western origin, raised by the Western bourgeoisie. Chan (89/90: 33) maintains that the human rights issue in China was dismissed as a "bourgeois notion" and had had no root in a socialist society for some time. Lee (1987: 130) contends that the PRC Government seeks to put itself in a category outside the Western concept of human rights, which in China is "dimly understood and seldom practiced." Lee states that there is no reason for the PRC to understand and care about the freedoms that Hong Kong people are enjoying (1987: 131).

However, the PRC government, as suggested by Zhong (1995: 97), is willing to be "a major player" in the international discussion of human rights in the 1990s as China has showed in its active participation in the UN Human Rights Conference in Geneva in June 1993. China also hosted the UN Fourth World Conference on Women (WCW) which was regarded

as a global and political event, in Beijing in September 1995.[42] These two events show that the Chinese government is willing to open itself to the outside world and participate the world affairs in the 1990s. The prospects for democratisation and the enjoyment of human rights in Hong Kong depend mainly on the rules governed by the PRC. It is believed that the pursuit of continuing economic development and reform in China may bring it to accept universally recognised human rights which are to some extent agreeable with Western industrialised countries.

4.3.2.3 The concept of law and the independence of the Hong Kong judicial system

Law as an approximation of justice and the independence of the judicial system will be challenged by the HKSAR and the Beijing authorities after 1997. Although the Sino-British Joint Declaration and the Basic Law have provided legal protection for the existing judicial system, it depends on whether the PRC authorities will work in accordance with the two documents.

The rule of law was alien in China's legal tradition. In traditional China, the ruler himself was above the law and law was used as an instrumental tool for rulers to control their subjects, rather than an independent legal institution.[43] As noted by Ogden (1989: 145), "..... there has been no true separation of powers or systems of checks and balances to guarantee that the government does not abuse its power" in China. Chan (1989/90: 33) notes that the law of China is subject to the constitution which embodies four cardinal principles which seem to be more authentic than the

law. These four principles are the upholding of socialism, dictatorship of the people, Marxist, Leninist and Maoist thought, and the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Under Article 158, the final power of interpretation of the Basic Law rests in the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress but not in Hong Kong's courts.[44] The future state of Hong Kong shall consult the Committee before giving an interpretation of the Basic Law (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, January 20, 1994, p.32).

With a view to strengthening its full sovereignty over Hong Kong after 1997, China has to maintain tight control on Hong Kong's legislature and legal system. In December 1994, Lu Ping, the director of the Hong Kong and Macao affairs office under China's State Council, started that all judges would be reappointed after 1997 (Rosario 1995: 19). Martin Lee, a barrister and leader of the Democratic Party, pointed out that the PRC would like to choose the "right people to hold judicial posts" in order to institute those who made "politically correct decisions" (ibid). China declares that the Patten's 1992 political reform will be annulled and all sixty elected legislators will have to step down by June 30, 1997. The Preliminary Working Committee (PWC) also suggests that China should establish an interim legislature for one year for the HKSAR on July 1, 1997. Yash Ghai, a constitutional law expert, argues that this build up of legislation will be against the Basic Law (*South China Morning Post*, December 14, 1994, p.21).[45] The provisions for the appointment of the first chief executive and the organisation of the early legislatures of the HKSAR

will definitely give the PRC considerable control over the HKSAR. Moreover, the establishment of the Court of Final Appeal (COFA) for the HKSAR has also been discussed in the Legislative Council.[46] Now Hong Kong courts are fear of losing the promised "one-country, two systems" (Editorial, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, August 10, 1995, p.3). If the COFA cannot be set up before the transfer of Hong Kong's sovereignty to the PRC in 1997, the legal system of the HKSAR will be a "vacuum" and the future of Hong Kong will be at stake (*Sing Tao* Daily, January 16, 1995, p.A8 & Choy in *South China Morning Post*, August 12, 1995, p.1).

The most important point is that China will take over Hong Kong in 1997 with "muscular demonstrations of sovereignty" within its political control (*South China Morning Post*, September 1, p.18). Changing a few Hong Kong street names and revising a Chinese national flag are not the most important symbols for the transfer of Hong Kong's sovereignty to the PRC (ibid). In order to tighten the political control over the future HKSAR, an elite corps of Chinese officials, who are being trained in Mainland China, will be sent to Hong Kong after 1997. Although the Sino-British Joint Declaration and the Basic Law have not made provisions for mainland officials working in the HKSAR administration, they would service "peripheral" units such as the Hong Kong offices of state council departments, including the Foreign Ministry, the Defence Ministry and various economic ministers.[47]

Therefore, the concept of a legal system as a social service is at odds with by the ideology of political service for the PRC state in Hong Kong.

China does not reaffirm its commitment to the rule of law and to the independence of individual lawyers, as well as the legal system for Hong Kong (up to this stage of writing). However, Daniel Fung, solicitor-general in Hong Kong since 1994, argues that China's legal system, rather than that of Hong Kong, is set to undergo the most speedy change after 1997. He also asserts that China takes Hong Kong's laws as a model and adapts them into its own system.[48]

To conclude, on the one hand, the Hong Kong government has to ensure freedom of expression after 1997, but on the other hand, it has to ensure effective governing of Hong Kong during the transitional period. This duality has led to fumbling in policy making and implementation. Freedom of expression of both individuals and groups in Hong Kong is limited by the practice of self-censorship and the state-dominated constitutional orders, and is likely to be limited by the framework outlined in the Basic Law after 1997, so as to avoid offending the PRC as well as the future HKSAR.

4.4 DELINEATED MUSICAL MEANING AND THE RISE OF POLITICAL/DEMOCRATIC SONGS IN THE COLONIAL STATE

4.4.1 Dilemma of Musical Meaning

This section describes the development of music transmission in Hong Kong, and argues that Hong Kong society has fallen into a dilemma between the interpretations of delineated musical meaning by the PRC and the Hong Kong states.

In any country, musical interpretations of the same songs may confront each other or be in agreement with each other. Music interpreters include the state, the composer, the conductor, the performers, the listeners or even the critics. Hermerén (1993: 14) suggests that it is not necessary to assume people "interpret the same thing in the same sense or for the same purpose". Adorno argues that music can play a political or "critical" role in society - to emancipate and demystify it (in Goehr 1993: 188).

In the PRC, the government tried to restore its power in the struggle for musical meaning against any potentially oppositional force. One thinks of pieces such as the PRC's national song, "The East is Red" (Dongfanhung), or "Without the Communist Party, There Would Be No New China" (Meiyou Gongchadang Meiyou Xin Zhongguo). These types of Maoist songs are used to provoke people's patriotic sentiments and to help them conform to the socio-political norms prescribed by the PRC state. The ideological and political paths of musical thought are committed to Marxist-Leninist-Maoist lines in the PRC. The given programmatic titles of the songs carry "verbal" messages to embody political themes, so as to mould the listeners' perceptible behaviour and attitudes towards the communist government. Mainland performers convey the messages, and composers (representing the China state) conceive the moods and emotions as their musical intention. Listeners tend to hear the conveyed moods and emotions expressed in the music which will be accommodated into their musical interactions. Although standard Western classical music was acceptable in the PRC after the Cultural Revolution in 1976, most twentieth-century music or modern

music was condemned as "political or cultural" counter-revolution against the central government. The PRC state promotes certain kinds of music at the expense of others in order to regulate the role of communist music in the country. After the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident, the PRC accused two Chinese musical journals, *People's Music* (Rémín Yínyuè) and *Chinese Music Paper* (Zhóngguó Yínyuè Bào), of misleading the public. *People's Music*, previously a monthly journal, was allowed to publish as a bimonthly journal but *Chinese Music Paper* was banned (Xià 1991: 101). Under state control, music or music journals inspiring anti-social behaviour are discouraged.

Unlike the mainland Chinese, Hong Kong people have no political responsibility to stand by the China state. They experience different spheres of musical consciousness. Generally speaking, the official music of the PRC represents a different significance or emotional appeal to Hong Kong people as it symbolizes one-party autocratic rule. For the PRC government, music is in the conception of serving the people. For Hong Kong people, the PRC's songs are understood as serving the party. Hong Kong people have not admitted the PRC's national song as one of Hong Kong's patriotic songs. Hong Kong musicians always look for a so-called Hong Kong musical style. During the 1989 June 4th Incident, Hong Kong Chinese people engaged in struggles over musical meaning which exemplify the dynamic structure of social life. They also entered a stage of "open confrontation" with the PRC government over the struggle of musical meaning for political value. Because of the democratic meaning delineated by the pieces of music,

communication of this music forms the individual and musical consciousness. This type of musical communication mediates between individual freedom and political convention as a political attack on the PRC.

On the other hand, during and after the June 4th Incident, Hong Kong people had freedom of expression on the subject of democracy, and the colonial state did not label and interpret the musical meaning of the political songs, emphasizing nationalism or democracy as a counter-revolutionary force to the colonial rule. At least there were no people imprisoned because of offending the Hong Kong Government in the field of arts or literature during and after the 1989 Tiananmen Square (Hú in *Ming Pao*, June 29, 1993, p.16). The writer of the thesis suggests that music has a musical meaning of dealing with two kinds of freedom, freedom to and freedom from: freedom to communicate the types of delineation that music has, as well as freedom from being dictated to convey any official musical meaning.[49] The musical interactions between the colonial state and Hong Kong people have to be interpreted as a "compromise" without political interference.

4.4.2 Music As A Social Phenomenon and its Delineated Musical Meaning

4.4.2.1 The rise of indigenous Chinese popular songs[50]

4.4.2.1.1 The transmission of Hong Kong and Taiwanese indigenous popular songs to Mainland China after 1978

After the announcement of the "Open-door Policy" by Deng Xiaoping in 1978, Deng's economic and social reforms encouraged the establishment of

private enterprise, the liberality of foreign trade and investment, as well as the exchange of foreign cultures with the outside world to benefit the national reformation of China.[51] In his address to the Fourth Congress of Writers and Artists in October 1979, Deng upheld the rights of freedom of creation. Cultural exchange and the importation of technology were one of the unquestionable byproducts of China's modernisation. The availability of modern electrical appliances, for example, radios, cassette players and television sets made way for the rise of popular music in China. China became more exposed to foreign cultures including popular music from Hong Kong and Taiwan.[52] The influence of Western and other Asian popular music was strong and was not strictly controlled by the central leadership. Hsü (1990: 872) noted that the cultural impact of the open-door policy advanced beyond anything the China state had realised.

Hamm (1991: 17) observes that Mainland China's popular songs have been influenced by Taiwanese and Hong Kong singers. This began with Deng Lijun (or named Teresa Tang) and Xi Xiulan and continued through Shu Rui and Qi Qin. These popular songs are named "Pacific Pop" which is common in most Asian countries, including Taiwan and Hong Kong. Brace (1991: 45) also asserts that the first popular music to enter the mainland was from Taiwan and Hong Kong and was spread "half-openly", i.e. the PRC government did not take "a stand pro or con the active dissemination" of this popular music. According to the survey "Who is your dedicated idol", conducted by "Nanking Provincial Communist Youth League" (Nánjīng Shì Gòngqíngniántuán Zǔshī"), among selected

secondary school students in Nanking, nine out of ten idols singled out by the respondents were popular singers and film stars from Hong Kong and Taiwan; and Lau Tak-wah, a Hong Kong singer and film star, was among the most popular ones (Dōng 1993: 32). Moreover, Taiwanese music constituted roughly half of the music which was played in Guangzhou discos and the rest was Hong Kong Cantonese popular music (Hoyland 92/93: 30). This indicates that popular music in Mainland China has been dominated by Hong Kong and Taiwan, and that China has found it difficult to censor cultural products, originating inside and outside national borders since the late 1970s.[53]

4.4.2.1.2 The development of indigenous Chinese popular songs and rock music in Mainland China after the mid 1980s

Two main mutually reinforcing factors can be identified in the questions of cultural and political identity of Chinese popular music during the mid-1980s. The first is an alternative style of popular music interpreted by many Chinese as an indigenous Chinese popular music in Mainland China. The second is the growth of underground popular music or rock music in Mainland China.

First, the rise of indigenous Chinese popular music called forth a cultural identity through music in Mainland China after the mid-1980s. Chinese popular musicians began to draw on Chinese nationalism, and a new style of popular music labelled *Xi Bei Feng* (Northwest Wind) emerged in China.[54] This new music is basically "adapted folksong melodies, or imitations of folksong melodies to the dominant style of accompaniment as

defined by the music from Hong Kong and Taiwan" (Brace 1991: 49). Another professional instrumentalist with a Beijing Opera Troupe explains that "the melodies of *Xi Bei Feng* came from the people of China, the lyrics speak of the hardships of daily life in China, and the vocal style also is of the people" (Brace 1991: 50). A young Chinese professional electric guitarist says that *Xi Bei Feng* represents Chinese music and the realities of Chinese people (Brace 1991: 50). Hamm (1991: 18) regards this popularity as a conformation to "the mass line of drawing material from the masses."

Second, the growth of Chinese "rock and roll" music is seen as a site of symbolic struggle in the political arena within the dynamic interrelationship of the producers, creators, performers, audiences/consumers, musical styles, and lyrics.[55] The development of Chinese rock music has become a central agent of popular resistance against the political systems of the PRC since the mid-1980s. Chén Zhé uses the geological term "folding" to describe this anti-culture, rock and roll as a reflection of the conflicts between the new and old music as well as other cultural arts in the 1980s (Mào 1991: 73). When Andrew Jones conducted his interviews about Chinese rock music in China, several interviewees defined Chinese rock music "as a manifestation of a conflict between feudalism and modernity" (1994: 154). Hoyland (1992/93: 30) contends that the Chinese musicians have a common aspiration in some way to "break the mould" of Chinese popular music and rock musicians played a significant role in the movement. Compared with the development of rock music in East Germany, the attitude of Chinese rock musicians was

different. Shepherd and Wicke suggest that in Germany a great deal of pressure was pushed from the audiences to the rock musicians to present their interests against the state (Born 1993: 277). In comparison, rock musicians in China were more active than the public, who are afraid of the political threat under the PRC government, in the development of rock music with a political content or message.

Cuī Jiàn is a most important figure who has confronted contradictions between the orientation to the Chinese authorities and democratic convictions in mainland China and Hong Kong. Cuī established himself in China as the first rock performer in the mid-1980s. Originally he was a trumpeter in the Beijing Philharmonic Orchestra (Beijing Jiaoxiang Yuetuan). In 1985, he formed his own band, *Building Block* with six colleagues from the orchestra, and recorded Paul McCartney/Michael Jackson hits. Cuī Jiàn names Bob Marley as his early influence (Hoyland 1992/1993: 31). Cuī Jiàn is described as a leading rock idol for disseminating rock music, and as a Chinese John Lennon.[56] Peters (1991: 30) says that "Cuī may be the only figure of real stature in Chinese music" and his songs are different from "the many 'plastic' pop tunes from Hong Kong or Taiwan." The style of Cuī Jiàn's rock music shares characteristics with *Xi Bei Feng*, featuring a "rather rough vocal delivery, decidedly contrasting with the smooth, open vocal sound typical of Hong Kong/Taiwan's style" (Brace 1991: 52).

On May 10, 1986, the underground rock was first exposed by Cuī Jiàn as he presented his song "I Have Nothing" at the annual "One

Hundred Pop Stars" (Baiming Gexing) concert at the Beijing Worker's Stadium. The lyrics of "I Have Nothing"[57] are as follows:

I've asked tirelessly, when will you go with me?
But you just always laugh at my having nothing
I've given you my dreams, given you my freedom
But you always just laugh at my having nothing
Oh, When will you go with me?
Oh, When will you go with me?

The earth under my feet is on the move.
The water by my side is flowing on,
But you always just laugh at my having nothing
Why haven't you laughed your fill?
Why will I always search?

Could it be that before I will always have nothing?

Oh! When will you go with me?
Oh! When will you go with me?

The earth under my feet is on the move
The water by my side is flowing on

I'm telling you I've waited a long time
I'm telling you my very last demand
I need to grab both your hands
Only then will you go with me
That's when your hands will tremble
That's when your tears will flow
Can it be that you're telling you love my having nothing?

Oh, only then will you go with me
Oh, only then will you go with me

The song is, on the surface, a love song and the monologue of a lover. The character of this song is asking his lover to go with him, to love him in spite of his being poor and having nothing to offer her. What he can offer her is "freedom" to be with him. However, the lyrics, as suggested by Wēng (1992: 219), symbolize the pain of the new generation in Mainland China

as a reflection of the politics. Chong (1991: 20) also asserts that complaint from the rejected lover often represents the "grief of the official wronged by the ruler" in classical Chinese poetry. Cuī Jiàn was attacked by General Wang Zhen. Wang argued that Cuī had the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and should not say that he had nothing (Hallett 1991: 11, Bái 1988: 94 & Jones 1992: 94). However, Cuī retorts that he has no interest in politics and does music for music's sake, but he emphasises that "the most important thing about culture is the reaction it creates" (Hallett 1991: 11). A member of the Cuī Jiàn Fan Club at Beijing University says, "Cui Jian can express what many of us feel, but cannot say" (Hallett 1991: 11). Cuī Jiàn notes, "What I want to say will go in the songs" and he agrees that people like his songs because of his "honesty" (Wēng 1992: 210 & 211; translated by Ho Wai-chung). As Silbermann (1963: 38) notes "while music was once the preserve of the individual, it now belongs to the masses."

Cuī struggled for his musical meaning between the tradition of Chinese autocratic rule and the transformation of China's society under the influence of Western countries. This can also be found in terms of the expression of Cuī's lyrics as well as his musical styles. Lyrics of Cuī's songs are interpreted as a sophisticated and political confrontation with and a challenge to the rule of the PRC government. Cuī insisted that the song "The Last Shot" was about the 1979 Sino-Vietnamese War (Schell 1994: 313). Although Cuī's song "The Last Shot" never talks about the June 4th Event, audiences can have their own interpretations.[58] Another example was also shown during Cuī's concert in Guangzhou where audiences were

waving red cloth when Cuī sang the song, "A Piece of Red Cloth" in the concert. This act was described as a reminiscence of "the tangled possibilities of the red flags at Tiananmen" (Weller 1994: 210). The song "A Piece of Red Cloth" was identified as an attack on the PRC government for abusing its power. Brace (1991: 52) argues that the lyrics of Cuī Jīan are "often interpreted as politically oppositional in content; and occasional use of traditional Chinese instruments such as the *suona* (a reed instrument), the *dizi* (a transverse flute made of bamboo), and the *guzheng* (a zither)". Cuī, I would argue, makes use of the acoustic effects of Western and Chinese musical instruments to shape the political contradictions between the Communist politics and the Open-door Policy. Chow (1993: 395) suggests that Cuī's music is "semantically loaded with the feelings of oppression; it is electronically saturated, but the feelings of oppression impinge upon us as an inerasable, because invisible, referent, like a language with an insistent syntax but no obvious semiotics/signs with meanings."[59] The popularity of Cuī Jiàn is not only due to the "skill" of Cuī's music or his band but it is because of Cui's expressive "inner feelings that are rarely expressed in China" (Schell 1994: 318-319). The Chinese official government not only suppresses the emotions of the music, but also criticises electronics as a way of "protecting the integrity of Chinese culture against excessive Westernisation", which is seen as a threat to the existing stability and harmony of society (ibid).

Nevertheless, Lully (1991: 135) demonstrates that the relation between the case of Chinese pop musician Cui Jiàn and the PRC

government demonstrates "the ambivalence of government cultural policy" (also see Chong 1991: 5-6 & Schell 1994: 318). This is shown in the attitude of the PRC towards Cuī's music: Cuī's concerts were officially cut out after the student demonstrations in late 1986 and early 1987.[60] In 1987, Cuī's "I Have Nothing" was condemned by the PRC government but the *People's Daily* glorified Cuī's music and identified Cuī as an "ancestor of contemporary Chinese rock music" on July 16th 1988 (Bái 1988: 94; translated by Ho Wai-chung). Suddenly Cui's concerts were allowed again in early 1989. In April 1989, EMI signed up Cuī Jiàn for a recording contract in Hong Kong and he subsequently participated in the First Asian Popular Music Awards at London's Albert Hall (Schell 1994: 317). By the time Cuī returned to Beijing, he got involved in the pro-democratic movement and gave a performance to support the hunger strikers in Beijing. Wong describes Cuī Jiàn's performance as a "solidarity with the demonstrators" during the prodemocratic demonstration in Tiananmen Square (1992: 72).[61] Cuī Jiàn performed for students in Tiananmen Square and his New Long March Rock album was an integral part of the "soundtrack" of the movement (Jones 1992: 95). Weller (1994: 210) describes Cuī Jiàn as "a sort of unofficial poet of the student movement". The value of Chinese "rock and roll" music was considered as "open confrontation" with the PRC authorities.

After the 1989 students' democratic movement had gone, Chinese rock music entered another phase of its development, not only based on the struggle for political and democratic issues as its theme. Since the mid-

1980s, Chinese rock bands have been founded, dissolved and recognised one by one.[62] In these ten years of struggle, Chinese rock bands have established their own style, combining Western rock and Chinese national style in the music. Some rock songs made use of an integration of traditional Chinese instruments with arrangements of Western instrument and musical styles. For example, Hé Yǒng's "Requiem March" ends with a Buddhist chant recited by a monk. The heavy metal band, Xin Qiji, fixes a Sung Dynasty song - lyric (*ci*) "to wailing electric guitars" (Jones 1994: 159). Lao Wu, lead guitarist for the rock band Tang Dynasty,[63] described the use of traditional Chinese instruments and image in relation to "cultural essentialism" (ibid):

> Rock is based on the blues, and we can never play the blues as well as American. It's just not in our blood. We can imitate it, but eventually we'll have to go back to the music we grew up with, to traditional Chinese music, to folk music.

Nevertheless, the formation of Chinese rock music is attribut to an over-emphasis by the overseas mass media, causing the "false image of its musical value" (*Ming Pao*, November 1994, p.B4; translated by Ho Wai-chung). Today the PRC has adopted a more open policy towards Chinese "rock and roll" music.[64] Rock music cassettes are even advertised on state-controlled audiovisual channels for profit making (Jones 1994: 157). They are mostly produced by Hong Kong and Taiwanese record companies because of the lack of domestic support in China. Without political suppression, the Chinese rock musicians have to face another challenge by finding new directions in their music (*Ming Pao*, November 1994, p.B4).

4.4.2.2 The rise of local Hong Kong political/democratic songs and their delineated musical meanings

This section is an account of the influence and rise of local Hong Kong political/democratic popular songs. The focus of this section is the relationship between the political struggle and the dissemination of democratic delineated musical meaning of Hong Kong popular songs by the end of the 1980s.

The concept of delineated musical meaning which I am using, emphasises symbolic meanings which may be political, sub-cultural or economic. In this thesis, delineated musical meaning, on one hand, is expressed in the lyrics of local Hong Kong democratic popular songs (with lyrics embedded with messages of political pluralism and/or advocating political freedom) which act as an overt political stance. The delineated musical meaning, on the other hand, also refers to the musical style which carries nationalistic and political meanings.

4.4.2.2.1 Political songs promoted before the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident

As the 1980s Hong Kong popular songs hardly commented on social reality, the development of *Xi Bei Feng* had more appeal than other types of music to Mainland Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese in the late 1980s. As observed in the previous section, *Xi Bei Feng* was said to break away from the traditional popular music addressing mainly love affairs in Mainland China and Hong Kong. Brace (1991: 51) notes that *Xi Bei Feng* was also popular in Hong Kong as this music was claimed "as a resource in the struggle for

identity". Brace states that the popularity of *Xi Bei Feng* in Hong Kong not only reveals "nationalistic sentiment", but also opens Hong Kong as a "window to the world" (1991: 51).

The "cultural renaissance" also refers to the rise of Hong Kong political and/or democratic popular songs which have been finding a "harmonic" chord with both Hong Kong and Mainland Chinese for carrying the messages of nationalism and democracy in the late 1980s. Hong Kong Chinese interpreted the late 1980s Chinese popular music as serving the function of expressing a unity with the mainland Chinese. Wilson (1990: 220) maintains that the students' democratic movement "brought the former opponents together" in comprising and organising the opposition to the PRC government.[65] Although the message of the song "I Have Nothing" was defined as "counter-revolutionary" and controlled by the PRC government, the unauthorised recordings of "I Have Nothing" had reached many cities of China and the popularity of this song spread to Hong Kong within weeks (Jones 1992: 96). Cuī Jiàn's song "I Have Nothing" also became a rallying cry and an anthem of the democratic movement in Hong Kong.

Hong Kong local artists also devoted their time and music to the support of the pro-democratic Beijing students' movement. Regardless of an approaching typhoon, Anita Mui[66], a popular singer, led a crowd in singing "Brave Chinese" (Wilson 1990: 220). On May 27th, 1989, the twelve-hour "Concert for Democracy in China"[67] was staged in the Happy Valley on Hong Kong Island.[68] This was a fund raising concert to support the students' democratic movement in Beijing. However, there were hardly

any Cantonese popular songs available for this event. For this concert, a Hong Kong Chinese artist, Lowell Lo composed the song entitled "All For Freedom" (Cǐ Zìyóu) which took only twenty-four hours to record.[69] "All For Freedom" was adopted as a theme song for the "Concert for Democracy in China". The lyrics of "All For Freedom" are as follows (the italicised lines are sung in Mandarin, the rest in Cantonese):[70]

> Our hearts are filled with great ambition and righteousness,
> Bravely creating new frontiers and going onward with all our might.
> We press on (our path) with great righteousness,
> You and I - hand in hand,
> Though our path is full of thorns.
> Shedding sweat, yet not weary,
> Shedding blood, yet not afraid.
> *For the love of freedom and for the pursuit of freedom,*
> Let's strive onward hand in hand.
> *It can't be cast away nor can it be stopped* -
> The ambition within our hearts fills the world and its thousands of mountains.

The delineated musical meaning of the song "All For Freedom", as expressed in the lyrics, is characterized by its political nature as a claim and struggle for freedom and democracy. The song is sung in Cantonese but there are two sentences sung in Mandarin. The use of Cantonese and Mandarin is an echo for harmony between Hong Kong and Mainland China. Hong Kong popular singers are apparently trying to establish "a dialogue with Beijing students" by interpolating two Chinese dialects in the song (Lee 1992: 134). Hong Kong people have their sense of belonging to their motherland, i.e. the PRC, singing these two sentences in Mandarin. Hong Kong people are also giving their encouragement and support to Beijing students by singing the lyrics, "You and I - hand in hand. Though our path is full of thorns. Shedding sweat, yet not weary." The musical style of "All

For Freedom", as characterised by Lee (1992: 134), "belongs to heavier rock, which is rather unusual in the milieu of Cantopop songs." Besides Lowell Lo's "All For Freedom", other Hong Kong Chinese songwriters also expressed their views of democracy in their lyrics. Danny Summer's "Mama, I have Done Nothing Wrong" (Māmā Wǒ Mòyǒu Cuò) was also premiered at the concert on May 27, 1989. Another Danny Summer song "You Wake My Soul Up" (Nǐ Huànxǐng Wǒdì Línghún) also represents the feelings of some Hong Kong Chinese and outlines the importance of democracy, freedom and the advocation of human rights.[71] According to the financial report of the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movement in China (HKASPDMC)[72] by February 1990, US$1.9 million out of the total US$3.2 million was raised from this twelve-hour Concert of Democracy in China (Lee 1992: 133).

With the uncertain political future ahead of Hong Kong, the belonging of this music is a "harmony" between the Chinese in both China and Hong Kong. The lyrics and the musical styles of the songs are intended to fight for democratic consciousness and celebrate the democratic message in the music.

4.4.2.2.2 Political songs promoted after the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident

Hong Kong songwriters explicitly and implicitly raised the matters of freedom, democracy and politics in the lyrics. Political songs also became common in Hong Kong after the 1989 Tianamen Square Incident.

Some Hong Kong democratic popular songs explicitly delineated their

democratic musical meaning in their lyrics. Xú Bīn-xían composed the song, "Fighting for Democracy and Freedom" (Zhēngqǔ MínzhǔZìyóu) and welcomed people and students to sing (see Appendix Three). Lowell Lo's album 1989 with title songs "1989 Prelude" and "1989" was also regarded as propagandistic Cantopop against the PRC government (see Appendix Four) and these two songs were banned by Hong Kong radio stations in order not to annoy the PRC authorities by late 1989. Lam Man-chung, a Hong Kong songwriter, composed a song named "China" (*Zhōngguó*) to glorify the 1989 students movement and the sense of belonging with the Chinese for democracy (see Appendix Five). This song was dedicated to the public and the money gained from the sale of this song was donated to the HKASPDMC (*Ming Pao Daily*, June 16, 1989).

Some political songs were written to implicitly express views confronting the PRC authorities. A Hong Kong band, "Dat Ming Pair" composed two songs named "Questioning the Sky" (Tiān Wèn) and "Ten Firefighter Teenagers" (Shígè Jiùhuǒ De Qíngnián) which addressed social and political issues. In my own interpretation, the lyrics of "Ten Firefighter Teenagers" were a story about everybody finding an excuse not to save the fire which symbolised the low political participation among Hong Kong people who were less likely to risk their lives for the sake of democracy under the unstable political situation (see Appendix Six). However, Lee (1992: 140) says that this song has the characteristic of a "parable about the democratic spirit", asking people not to be afraid of the struggle of freedom from China. The lyrics of "Asking the Sky" pointed out that not all

questions could have answers. Moreover, Dat Ming Pair's song, "Talking" (Jiǎngyě) questioned the usefulness of the discussion between the United Kingdom and Mainland China over the future of Hong Kong. The "Dat Ming Pair" also introduced British-Hong Kong relations in "We Are Both Watching", using an analogy of the bridal pair to describe the political situation in late 1989. The ending of this song adopted the first three phrases of the British national anthem "God Save the Queen", played on a synthesizer (Lee 1992: 142).

Some Chinese popular songs had obvious double meaning in their political struggle. During Christmas 1989, James Wong composed the songs named "Kind-hearted Péng[73] is Spending His Christmas" and "Deng Xiaoping Is Coming to Town" (Huáng 1991: 57). These two songs symbolise Hong Kong people's loss of confidence in the future ruler - the Chinese Communist Party which led to a drastic rise of the exodus of Hong Kong people because of the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident. The lyrics of these political songs also implicitly reflect the chaos of Hong Kong over the issue of 1997. Part of the lyrics of the song "Kind-hearted Péng is Spending His Christmas" is as follows:[74]

> Kind-hearted Péng is spending his Christmas, and he asks me what I want to play.
> Car or horse?
> Gun or cannon?
> Knife or sword?
> But what I want is to give me a "passport"!
>
> Kind-hearted Péng is spending his Christmas, and he asks me what I want to play.
> Travelling to Tiananmen Square?
> Going to Canada to buy cows?
> Listening to Walkman or playing tennis?

[Buying] the heads of chickens or ducks?.....
I pretend to be blind.
I have to praise and please [him] all the time.
I dare not complain any more.
What I want is to give me a "Passport"!

The main character of the song "Kind Hearted Péng is Spending His Christmas" is the PRC Premier Lǐ Péng who ordered the troops of the People's Liberation Army to take measures to shoot all demonstrators in Tiananmen Square on June 3, 1989. Hong Kong people interpret Péng's role as a dictator in a one-party dominated China and they take the opposite meaning to describe Péng's kindness. The song represents the future political and social disorder in Hong Kong. People are afraid of the PRC and migration is indirectly explained in terms of Hong Kong Chinese's dissatisfaction with the future political and economic systems and the preservation of Hong Kong existing lifestyles.

However, some Cantopop promoted after the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident did not relate to these party-political issues, but rather associated with the rather differently focused idea of nationalism. For example, the lyrics of the song "Dreams of Hong Kong" were about promoting an identity for Hong Kong people in 1990. It is on an album released by the government-run Radio Television Hong Kong and financed by the International Bank of Asia (Lee 1992: 144). The album is an attempt to boost morale among the Chinese, including Hong Kong, mainland China and Taiwan. Three of its four songs are cantopop and the other one "Our Roots" is written by Angus Tung, a Taiwanese pop musician and it is recorded in Mandarin by Hong Kong, Taiwanese, and mainland Chinese

singers. The lyrics of this song reflect the Chinese societies (including Hong Kong, Taiwan and Mainland China) that share the same historical heritage, and suggest that all Chinese should work together for better tomorrows.

4.4.2.2.3 Values of political / democratic popular songs in Hong Kong

The democratic delineated musical meaning revealed the dynamic structuring of Chinese society in parallel with the individual experience, socio-political convictions and musical consciousness. Music is historical in the sense that the structure and texture of musical compositions, as well as their lyrics, have changed with the context. This was the first time in the history of Cantopop that songs included political issues in the lyrics. More than seventy songs were composed for the support of the Beijing students' movement during and after the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident (Shā 1990: 99).

The 1989 Beijing democratic movement also had a significant and immediate influence on Hong Kong popular musicians in encouragement them to attach political values to popular songs. Various fund-raising concerts for the support of democratic movements in China were proof of the dedication of Hong Kong artists in their participation in these political activities. As described by Lee (1992: 137), Hong Kong artists did not shy away from being "blacklisted" by the PRC authorities and their involvement in the concert was regarded as "a challenge to the Chinese leaders." Luó Dà-zuǒ remarks that "a sincere creator cannot escape from the reality of society" (Wēng 1992: 20). Gōo (1993) maintains that the arts have been

linked with the expression of political freedom and that the artists should be encouraged to make such expression. Shǐ (1990: 9) argues that the aims of arts should be diversified for the practice of society and politics and this is the most important thing for artists to achieve. He also emphasises that "the practice of today's arts is the growing seed of tomorrow's democratic China" (translated by Ho Wai-chung). Danny Yung, Zuni Icosahedron's artistic director,[75] also mentions that arts can cultivate "sensibility, creativity, and flexibility in thinking" (Rosario 1995: 28). All these are powerful for the development of future Hong Kong "democracy" (ibid).[76] However, Lam Jit, a Hong Kong lyricist, notes that "politics can certainly be expressed in the lyrics. This cannot be done in the modelled drama [of the Cultural Revolution][77] to force the audiences to accept the message; rather the message should be delivered by means of joking and laughing" (*Ming Pao*, February 15, 1995; translated by Ho Wai-chung).

Since the June 4th Incident in 1989, music has been inextricably both an instrument and a battlefield of political struggle against the PRC authorities, but a "harmony" for both Mainland and Hong Kong Chinese to have celebration in the musical material in expressing and conveying the democratic message. At last Hong Kong people had an identity as Chinese and discovered their alliance with the Chinese people. The musical meaning of Cantopop was in tune with the forms of production, ways of listening and interpretation in the sense of national and cultural identities. This is Barthes's explanation that "politics is not necessarily just talking, it can also be listening" (1985: 268).

The rise of political Cantopop in 1989 was complex and multifaceted. Besides the political movement of Hong Kong people included various popular musicians and singers, the marketed-governed, external music production and consumption also played its part in the promotion of political Cantopop in Hong Kong. With assistance from commercial mechanisms, various Cantonese pop music programmes in support of the 1989 students' democratic movement in Beijing were organised and activated (Lee 1992: 133). Nevertheless, struggles existed between political and commercial values for the promotion of Chinese democratic popular songs. This is shown during the rally of "the Hundredth Day of the June 4th Incident" on September 12, 1989. Some supporters of the Hong Kong Alliance had much dissent about this political memorial. Consequently, they left the rally to protest because the rally was seen as a Cantopop concert, rather than a political commemorative activity (Lee 1992: 139).

To sum up, the writer of the thesis has already discussed the rise of Hong Kong indigenous Cantopop in Chapter Three. This chapter continues to look for the emergence of democratic cantopop during the late 1980s. This is the first time for Hong Kong popular music to include political and social issues in its lyrics. The 1989 Bejing students' democratic movement motivated Hong Kong Chinese to find the value and power of music in the promotion of local Cantonese democratic songs as a political attack on the PRC. Hong Kong popular music, it has been argued, has apprehended the tier of "harmony" in the transmission of Mainland Chinese democratic songs, sharing the Mainland Chinese cultural identity with political

expectations during and after the June 4th Incident. Experiencing music in the processes of "freedom from" and "freedom to", music is a medium of communication exploring the issue of musical meaning - that music can be channelled to heighten the individual's consciousness of self and surroundings. As far as political content is concerned, Chinese political songs appear to deliver the democratic message as an open confrontation with the PRC state.

4.5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This chapter has described the relations between the extreme socio-political changes in Hong Kong with reference to the political events of the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration and the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident. In particular, the chapter has thrown light on the contradictions and tensions between freedom of expression within the concept of "one-country, two-systems" and the rise of democratic musical meaning of local popular songs in the mediation of music in the wider social distribution, production, and reception of music.

The chapter has argued that the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident has quickened the pace of political change and transformed the face of politics in the territory. Before the Incident, the colonial state and its people avoided offending the PRC government. However, the 1989 Beijing students' movement changed the attitude of Hong Kong people towards the PRC. During and after the Incident, the state of Hong Kong and its people (including people from political, educational, and business sectors)

intensified their open confrontation with the PRC over the issues of democracy and human rights.

Furthermore, the chapter has argued that the freedom of expression of individuals and groups is limited by the Hong Kong state as prescribed in the constitutional order as well as the Basic Law. For the sake of economic interests, self-censorship acts as a political compromise and as an expression of self-discipline so as not to offend the PRC, as well as the future HKSAR.

Owing to the Beijing students movement in May-June 1989, singing democratic Chinese and Hong Kong popular music became a channel for Hong Kong people to express their political stances. As popular music has never officially been introduced in the Hong Kong school music curriculum, the inclusion of democratic popular songs were certainly not possible. Nevertheless, the rise of Hong Kong indigenous popular songs which involved political and democratic identity in their musical meanings outside schools acted as a "confrontation" with the PRC government, a "compromise" with the Hong Kong state, but a "harmony" between mainland and Hong Kong Chinese to fight for political pluralism and freedom.

In the next chapter, comparison will be made between music education and other parts of the education system in Hong Kong with reference to the political considerations of the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration and the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident. In particular, the chapter will focus on the bureaucratism of Hong Kong music education and

the content of musical knowledge and its musical meaning under the control of the state of Hong Kong.

CHAPTER FIVE

COMPARISONS BETWEEN THE POLITICISATION OF THE OVERALL EDUCATION SYSTEM AND THE MONOPOLY OF THE STATE IN THE HONG KONG MUSIC EDUCATION SYSTEM

5.1 PURPOSE AND ARGUMENT

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the overall Hong Kong education system, and the Hong Kong music education system in relation to the political events of the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration and the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident.

The main argument of this chapter is that formal music education is more "closed" than the overall education system in Hong Kong. Fewer significant changes are being made in the curriculum for music than in other subjects such as Economics and Public Affairs (EPA), Government and Public Affairs (GPA), Liberal Studies and Chinese History during the preparation for the transfer of Hong Kong's sovereignty to China. Nevertheless, the music education system and the overall education system share a similarity with the political system being relatively centralised, undemocratic and socio-politically closed.

5.2 IMPLICATIONS OF THE 1984 AND 1989 POLITICAL EVENTS ON HONG KONG EDUCATION

This section discusses how the education system in Hong Kong entered into a decolonised period after the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration Agreement, resulting in a rapid politicisation of the school curriculum; and

how, after the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident, there was a partial decentralisation of individual school curriculum and school management. More autonomous and democratic teaching materials and school administration were expected. However, the limits on the politicisation of the Hong Kong education system were found in the exclusion of the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident from the Chinese History textbooks in 1994.

5.2.1 Politicisation of the School Curriculum: before 1989

5.2.1.1 Politicisation of the general curriculum: civic education[78]

The 1984 White Paper on "The Further Development of Representative Government in Hong Kong" indicated the role of the Education Department in the promotion of civic education through the school curriculum with regard to Hong Kong's political future (*Guidelines on Civic Education*, 1985: i). *The Civic Education Guidelines* produced in 1985 suggest that civic education should be introduced across all subjects in both the formal curriculum and extra-curricular activities. Nevertheless, the implementation of civic education in Hong Kong was not for the preparation of an independent state of Hong Kong after 1997. Rather it specifically avoided mentioning the concepts of politics and democracy. Political education in Britain aims at promoting "political literacy" and emphasises people's "participation and action" (Lee 1987: 244-245); whereas political education in Hong Kong may not be ready for "open participation" in politics because the authorities try to avoid sensitising the 1997 issue (ibid, p.247).[79]

Hong Kong's civic education is a version of returning Hong Kong's

sovereignty to China in 1997: "Sense of national identity and belonging", "Love for the nation and pride in being Chinese", "Respect for Chinese culture and tradition", etc. (*Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools*, 1985, pp.19, 30, 36). Chan (1993) argues that the traditional role that civic education in Hong Kong has played so far is not relevant enough to prepare the citizens of the future Hong Kong. Chan (1993: 58) suggests that the kind of civic education that has been carried out for the past years was the recognition of citizenship training for being responsible citizens, as well as the cultivation of nationalism for the future state of Hong Kong. This kind of education belongs to the concept of "ethnic-Chinese", but does not go so far as to express patriotism to China. For example, the introduction of civic education through music education is suggested to orientate pupils to be responsible citizens and to love one another in society (Hé 1990 & Kuàng 1992). The introduction of Chinese classical music and Chinese folk music as part of civic education is also believed to cultivate students' cultural awareness as well as their sense of belonging to China. Nevertheless, patriotism has never been mentioned in formal Hong Kong music education.

Even after ten years of the introduction of civic education, the 1997 issue is still being avoided by the authorities in Hong Kong secondary schools. In March 1994, the Christian Society conducted a survey about the implementation of civic education, particularly based on the topic of political parties, in Hong Kong secondary schools. A total of 109 questionnaires were collected from 109 schools. 58 schools (about 53%) stated that political education was within the core of civic education. However, only 13 out of

these 58 schools (i.e. 22%) adopted the topic of Hong Kong political parties as the content of civic education. 93% of the respondents (54 out of 58 schools) recognised that two areas of civic education to be studied were "how to promote good citizens" and "how to help pupils understand and face the political changes so as to adapt themselves in the future Hong Kong" (*Sing Tao* Daily, June 30, 1994). This type of civic education is regarded as "social control" and reflects a comparatively "conservative ideology" (Ibid). The low political sensitivity of Hong Kong secondary students is also revealed in the survey of civic education in Hong Kong secondary schools conducted by the Hong Kong Chinese University (*Sing Tao* Daily, December 19, 1995, p.B17).[80] This reflects the fact that most young people do not feel a responsibility towards the future Hong Kong state. Tsang Wing-kwong, the vice-principal of Education Department of the Hong Kong Chinese University, suggests that both democratic education and civic education should be included in the future civic education in secondary schools in Hong Kong (ibid).

The new draft *Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools* just came to public attention in January 1996 and it emphasises that schools should not only carry a responsibility of developing "basic political knowledge", but also "the skills and attitudes and competence" among students in relation to the nation, the state and the world (p.5). The new draft has widened the scope of "democracy, liberty, equality, human rights and the rule of law" as one of the aims of the *Guidelines* (1996: 5). This aim is to prepare young people to meet the challenges of the future Hong Kong.[81] Nevertheless, the

new draft *Civic Education Guidelines* (1996) do not mention music education which can be introduced in school civic education (see *Civic Education Guidelines*, Appendix Three, pp.77-124 for other subjects to be implemented for civic learning). Music education is not chosen by the Hong Kong educators and practitioners as an important means to promote civic education. Civic values are isolated from musical values and musical skills. The writer of the thesis questions whether such separation would limit the functions of music education in promoting a "holistic" education for secondary school students.

5.2.1.2 Politicisation of examination subjects

This section shows a growing concern in the Hong Kong government over the curriculum development related to political awareness which can be found in examination subjects such as Economic and Public Affairs (EPA), Government and Public Affairs (GPA) and Liberal Studies.[82]

Syllabuses have been changed in these politically sensitive social studies. In particular, the changes to the EPA syllabus were most indicative. Between 1972 and 1976 EPA centred on defining the organisations, processes and institutions of Hong Kong government. It moved to introduce more emphasis on China (Bray 1994: 49). In the 1976 EPA syllabus, the term "colony" was abolished and a topic concerning the relations between Britain and China was first introduced. The 1984 syllabus was further characterised by the emphasis on the systems of government, particularly those relating to "representation and consultation,

and on the principles of law making" (Morris 1992: 129; Morris & Sweeting 1991: 260). A new subject, Government and Public Affairs (GPA), was introduced as an "A" level subject for F.6 -F.7 pupils in 1988, and was also first examined as a Hong Kong Certificate Examination for F.4-F.5 pupils in 1989. The subject stresses the concepts of Western democracies and the study of political processes in China.

In other subjects, the study of contemporary China was promoted and pupils were encouraged to take pride in their Chinese cultural heritage and the general portrait of Chinese government. In the case of history, the syllabus of the Hong Kong Certificate of Education (HKCE) was revised to have more topics on the study of China which "increased marginally from 1972 to 1984" (Morris & Sweeting 1991: 259). Tse Shek-kam, a lecturer in curriculum studies at the University of Hong Kong, argues that Asian or Chinese history should be emphasised in the future, rather than European History (Kwok in *South China Morning Post*, December 10, 1994). The geography syllabus changed similarly between 1972 and 1974, focusing more on the study of Asia and particularly on China. The major argument for revising the geography curriculum is the "political changes" which occurred following the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration (Lam & Lai 1994: 107). The Chinese language syllabus also started to be revised in 1982 and a new version was introduced from 1991. The new syllabus includes more reading of contemporary authors in the PRC. The promotion of these subjects either encourages students to take pride in their Chinese cultural heritage or cultivates civic education among students so as to prepare them

for their future roles as citizens of the PRC.

5.2.2 Decentralisation of the School Curriculum

5.2.2.1 Decentralisation of individual schools' teaching resources: before 1989

A new mechanism of curriculum development, the School-Based Curriculum Project Scheme (SBCPS) was introduced by the Education Department in 1988 as a "center-periphery" strategy of curriculum development so as to develop individual schools' own curricula in areas of civics and social education (Morris 1992: 137). The purposes of introducing the SBCPS, as stated by Morris (1988: 1-2), are "to encourage greater teacher involvement, initiative and professional....," "to encourage teachers to develop school programmes," and "to try to minimise the gap between the planned formal curriculum" and what goes on in classrooms. The SBCPS is suggested to meet the different needs and abilities of pupils. From 1989 to 1993, 242 projects were completed under the SBCPS and these projects ranged from kindergarten to secondary sixth form and most of these projects were subject-based (see Law and Yu 1994: 121-125).

Although the School Based Curriculum Project (SBCP) is a strategy for encouraging the development of individual school's teaching resources, the innovations of SBCPS for music education are strongly based on Western teaching materials. For primary music education, one of the SBCPS project was named "the implementation of Kodály's choral teaching method" for Primary 1 and 2. Under this project, teaching aids including video tapes, rhythm cards, sight-singing cards, sight-singing boards and

self-made instruments, teaching materials and teacher handbooks were provided for music teachers (Cái 1993: 114). During 1989 and 1990, music teachers from three secondary and primary schools participated in the curriculum design of the SBCPS to formulate Kodály's choral teaching method: one for Form 3 secondary pupils, one for Primary 3 & 4, and one for Primary 5 & 6 (Cái 1993: 114). From 1989 to 1993, five primary and three secondary schools participated in the music project of SBCPS. Comparatively, the involvement of primary and secondary music teachers in the SBCPS was relatively low.[83]

Schools also devised teaching materials for their own music curricula. For example, the NLSI Lui Kwok Pat Fung College designed two programmes for the SBCPS: "Piloting the Chinese Literature"[84] for Form 2 and 3 students and"[Combined] Arts Subjects" for Form 6 and 7 students (*Fai Pao*, January 1, 1991). For the arts subjects, they included music, physical education and art and design. Students were allowed to take these three subjects within one year (Ibid). The study of music appreciation, introduction of musical forms and musicians were suggested in the music subject. However, "Piloting the Chinese Literature" was described as a success of the SBCPS but the "Combined Arts Subject" had to be abolished. The Head Teacher of the NLSI Lui Kwok Pat Fung College indicated that this was under the influence of the introduction of Advanced Supplementary Level (ASL)[85] and new examination subjects were introduced in the curricula at the expense of arts subjects.

Defects appeared in the operation of bureaucratic systems and the

school-based innovation strategies in the SBCP. McClelland (1992: 29&33) criticised the fact that the school-based curriculum development seemed unlikely to bring about any of the following benefits in teaching: (1) the enhancement of professionalism or empowerment of teachers; (2) an improved match between the needs and abilities of students and the tasks they are to perform; and (3) the aptitude to "avoid problems of implementation which plague externally devised or imposed changes." Morris (1990: 36) suggests that the mechanism of the SBCPS "derived from essentially bureaucratic and political considerations" of the 1997 issues. The SBCPS is described as a "political slogan" to encourage the production of classroom resources within the existing centralised curricula.

5.2.2.2 Decentralisation over the curriculum development of individual pupils' learning and assessment in the Target Orientated Curriculum (TOC) Project: after 1989

This section describes the decentralisation strategy of the education reforms which would encourage greater individual school and teacher involvement in curriculum innovation in the Target Orientated Curriculum (TOC) project.

In Hong Kong, there is no mediator between schools and the Hong Kong government. The government acts as a direct control on schools. The highly centralised educational system is overtly to avoid schools being used for political indoctrination. According to Morris (1990: 26), schools were restricted from developing their own curricula by a variety of regulations which were previously initiated to prevent schools from being used for

Kwomintang (KMT) and Communist propagandas in the 1940s and in the 1950s respectively. Teachers were allowed to use only printed resources and syllabuses which were approved by the Director of Education (Ibid). According to the 1986 Education Regulations (Article 92), (1) schools were allowed to teach according to the syllabuses prescribed by the Education Department; (2) the Director of Education could order any schools' documents not to be used; and (3) teaching materials planned to be used in classrooms should be forwarded to the Education Department more than two weeks in advance and the particulars of the title, author and publisher of the document should be named....(Wáng 1989:17). This involved the bureaucratic control of school subjects and teaching materials via approved textbooks, syllabuses and education regulations in individual schools.

However, the TOC is an intended educational change for more teachers' involvement in the individual school curriculum so as to decentralise the central government's control. The TOC came from Targets and Target Related Assessment (TTRA) which was proposed in the 1990 Education Commission Report No.4 (ECR4). The ECR4 recommended that a framework of the TTRA should be developed and researched. The name was altered in August 1993 in order to highlight the fact that TOC is not basically to do with the relative performance of schoolmates but relates to the whole curriculum. The framework was formulated by the Hong Kong Bank TOC Research and Development Team based in the Institute of Language of Education (ILE)[86]. The project of TOC is planned to cover three subjects, Chinese, English and Mathematics, across four Key Stages (KS),

KS1 from Primary 1 to 3, KS2 from Primary 4 to 6, KS3 from Secondary 1 to 3 and KS4 from Secondary 4 to 5. The proposed TOC is based on criterion-referencing principles to devise the aims, contents, methods and evaluation of the curriculum according to pupils' needs and abilities. The main characteristics of the TOC cross-curricular framework are described as follows (Carless 1994: 74):

(1) an apparent aim for teaching and learning is defined through an integrated and progressive set of learning targets for the whole curriculum as well as for each subject at every Key stage;
(2) learners are working towards the targets associated with motivated, determined and related learning tasks;
(3) a target-related assessment system is based on the pupils' progress of the targets; and
(4) a record of individual learner progress will be reported in relation to the targets.

The implementation of TOC has been scheduled for different phases. Twenty primary schools firstly were piloted to start at Primary 1 to Primary 3 between September 1992 and May 1993. The second piloted phase was carried out at Primary 4 in May 1993 to continue in P5 in September 1993. Then a first phased implementation schedule was introduced in about seventy primary schools in the academic year of 1995-1996 (*South China Morning Post*, September 11, 1995). The TOC will be extended to all Primary 1 classes by 1996. Until 1998, all Primary 1 and Primary 4 classes will be involved in TOC and all primary schools will adopt TOC in September 2000. Although the Education Department does not enforce a regulation for the compulsory implementation of the TOC project, it feels confident all primary schools can follow the plan (Lee in

South China Morning Post, September 11, 1995).

Nevertheless, most of the educators have regarded the TOC as being set up too fast. They have also criticised the facts that the Education Department could not provide sufficient training and resources to the piloting schools/teachers and that the schedule of TOC was being kept secret. The Hong Kong Professional Teachers' Union (HKPTU) criticises the name list for the members of the Educational Convergence (Píngxié Huì) of TOC for not being made public and the HKPTU describes the implementation of TOC as a "Black Box's Exercise" (Hēixiāng Zuòyè) (*Wah Kiu Yat Pao*, December 26, 1994). Under this public pressure, the name lists of the members of the Educational Convergence and members of three subjects of Chinese, English and Mathematics were disclosed and the progress of TOC was also made known to the public in November 1994.

The prospect of the return of Hong Kong's sovereignty to the PRC in 1997 has resulted in the decentralisation of curriculum development which has been significant in educational policy. The school-centred innovation of the TOC allows the Hong Kong state (i.e. the Education Department) to minimize its control over school curriculum development. Questions on how the Chinese government introduces "patriotism" to the decentralised school curriculum to prepare patriotic Hong Kong pupils to be loyal to the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) will be raised after 1997.

5.2.3 The Implications of the Partial Decentralisation of the Hong Kong Education System over School Management : After 1989

5.2.3.1 Direct Subsidy Scheme (DSS)

The partial decentralisation of school management began with the introduction of the DSS. In 1988, the DSS was proposed by the third report of the Education Commission to replace the existing Bought Place Scheme (BPS). The DSS was proposed to improve the private schools sector and the current Bought-Place Scheme at twenty-two eligible private schools which would be phased out by the DSS (*South China Morning Post*, September 10, 1991).[87] The DSS was endorsed by the government in 1989 and launched in 1991 but will expire in 2001. In 2001, only government schools, government aided schools and DSS schools will prevail in the Hong Kong maintained secondary education system and the existing BPS will be abolished. The government will not take BPS for Form 1 students in 1998; not for Form 2 students in 1999; and not for Form 3 students in 2000 accordingly.[88]

The DSS also attempts to remove the powers which were formerly held by the Hong Kong Education Department over school executives such as supervisors and principals. The Hong Kong Education Ordinance and the Code of Aid Regulations are the means to "govern the registration of school management committees, supervisors, and teachers and detailed requirements, control such matters as textbooks, school holidays, and use of school premises" (Tan 1993: 83). However, it is suggested that a great degree of school autonomy would be granted to private and government-aided schools within the privatisation initiative of the secondary school sectors. The DSS allows some autonomy in finance, curricular, fees, staff recruitment and staff deployment. Schools can also apply for local repayable

funds over ten years for schools' redevelopment and other repairs to school infrastructures.

Three political implications are indicated in the DSS: (1) a search for an autonomous educational system after 1997, (2) an incorporation of "leftist" schools which have been regarded as "patriotic" private schools of Mainland China into the main stream of Hong Kong education, and (3) the diversification of the types of schools.

First, Bray (1992: 333) maintains that the DSS is a protest against "centralised manipulation of the education system after 1997." The target schools are aided and so are private schools including "leftist" and international schools. Morris (1992: 156) also argues that the DSS marks a "major departure from the egalitarian ideology which had dominated educational policy-making since the 1960s." In 1991, there were only eleven applicants: five out of six leftist schools, five international schools and one other private school but no aided schools. The reluctance of aided schools to participate in the scheme was because they are not willing to commit themselves in an uncertain political climate. However, the first aided secondary school, St. Paul College, wanted to participate in the DSS but was objected to by the Financial Committee of the Legislative Council[89] in the amendment of allocating funds in May 1992.[90] The DSS was said to be a "political sacrifice" and it was thought of as a matter between the "Legislative Council and the Government."[91] The political implications of the DSS are more important than the educational or economic implicationys as a devolution of powers to secondary schools.

Second, the political implication of the DSS is the incorporation into the mainstream of "leftist" or "patriotic" schools which had been excluded from government assistance for many decades. As early as 1985, Tsang Yok-sing, the vice-principal of Pui Kiu Middle School, asserted that the policy of "patriotic" schools should be to "work with the rest of Hong Kong" to maintain stability and prosperity in the territory during the transitional period. For this reason, he might consider applying for a government subsidy for his schools which could be incorporated into the local education system (Lau & Rosario 1985: 30). Yeung Yiu-chung, Headteacher of Heungdo Secondary School[92] and Chairman of the Hong Kong Federation of Education Workers (HKFEW),[93] outlines two political implications for the DSS: (1) leftist schools can be included and recognised in the government educational structure under the DSS; and (2) the leftist schools were previously identified as giving a "special background" to patriotic private schools, however, the "political" role of leftist schools would be replaced by an "educational" role under the DSS (*Wah Kiu Yat Pao*, May 20, 1992).

Third, the potential incorporation of international schools which follow English, American, and other foreign models of schooling is an effort to preserve international linkages and external models of schooling so as to diversify the types of education and to limit the possibility of the monopoly of education by the future PRC state. On the other hand, the subsidy of part of the educational cost in international schools is a move to attract Hong Kong emigrants back to Hong Kong (Tan 1993: 85).

As regards the economic implications, the conclusions of the Board

of Education in the 1980 discussion of private schools included an agreement that the government saved money by buying places in private schools, instead of building new aided schools (*Education Commission Report 3*, 1988:111 [Annex H]). For the socio-economic and educational implications, the concept of the DSS is to subsidise and encourage private schools to have maximum freedom to charge fees, select students, and to develop their curricula.[94] Parents have the right to choose schools for their children. However, Bernstein (1990) argues that "the explicit commitment to greater choice by parents.....is not a celebration of participatory democracy but a thin cover for the old stratification of schools and curricula." Individual DSS schools would also be granted a high degree of autonomy to select students and charge their own school fees. As argued by Lee and Cheung (1992: 159), only the best and most popular schools were likely to join the DSS. Top-class schools would take the privileged students coming from wealthy families. According to the Education Action Group, the scheme might "prompt the schools to charge higher fees, and thus deprive students from families with less financial means of the chance to study there" (Lee & Cheung 1992: 160).

5.2.3.2 School Management Initiative (SMI)[95]

The SMI is another innovation by the government to give individual school management committees more decision-making authority to facilitate their school management through the autonomy of finance, administration and personal management. This is the decentralisation of power from the

Education Department to the governing heads of schools. The SMI was launched by the Government in March 1991.

Four tenets of the SMI are described as follows: (1) the roles of the school directors, school supervisors, school executives and principals are clearly defined, so that they can function better and recognise their responsibilities; (2) the school policies and management are open to the participation of teachers, parents and old students' societies; (3) schools are encouraged to have systematic planning and evaluation of school activities and relative reports on performances; and (4) schools are to be more flexible in the management of their resources (*Ming Pao* June 12, 1993 & *Fai Pao*, November 21, 1995). There were twenty-one government aided secondary schools which adopted this system in 1991 (*Education Commission No.5*, 1992: 17). In September 1993, the number of schools joining the SMI rose to 127 (*Hong Kong 1994: A Review of 1993*, p.135). In September 1994, 173 schools (including 39 government aided secondary schools, 36 government secondary schools, 64 government aided primary schools, 30 government primary schools and 4 special schools) took part in the SMI (*Seung Pao*, September 21, 1994). In the academic year of 1995-1996, 222 primary and secondary schools took part in the SMI, i.e. one third of all primary and secondary schools in Hong Kong (*Fai Pao*, November 21, 1995).

Three political implications of SMI will be described in terms of the accountability of schools to the public, the limitation of the state's control over schools, and the diversification of the control of schools' resources.

First, increasing the accountability of schools to the public is through

the greater discretion and flexibility to schools in the disbursement of funds, the creation of school management frameworks, the introduction of staff reporting procedures and of a system for increased participation in decision-making by all staff, parents and pupils forwarded by the Scheme. The Education and Manpower Branch of the Education Department described its first recommendation as "a change from detailed control and advice" in the relationship between the Education Department and the aided schools to "a framework defining responsibilities and accountabilities" in the education system (Morris 1992: 156). Second, each SMI school formulates a formal constitution for its school management committee (SMC), setting out procedures and practices for administration. The Government's relationships with these schools were fundamentally changed. "Overall the implementation of these proposals", as argued by Morris (1992: 156), should result in a "substantial reduction in the degree of central control over decision-making." Third, the relaxation of the control over schools' resources by the government can be regarded as the beginning of a process of decentralisation in the education system. The Education Commission (1992: 18) claims that "the overall aim of SMI is to help schools use all their recurrent resources effectively in the task of providing quality education."

5.2.3.3 Amendment of education regulations

The amendment of the education regulations is another innovation of school management to relax the state's control over political activities in schools.

Previously, the education regulations were designed to safeguard the

"apoliticisation" of schools. Immediately after the post-war period, education regulations were devised to diminish the influence of both the Chinese Nationalist Party and the Communist Party on Hong Kong and to secure the legitimacy of the colonial government. Against the spread of Communist influence in Hong Kong schools, the Director of Education requested amendment of the Education ordinance to provide him with the authority to refuse or cancel the employ of any teacher in November 1948 (Sweeting 1993: 199). Another two examples of the 1971 education regulations are explicit statements to ban political activities in schools and are illustrated as follows (the underlined text was repealed and will be discussed later in this section) (Morris 1992: 159):

> If in the opinion of the Director the behaviour of any pupils is undesirable or improper or contrary to the good of the school or the other pupils, or if any pupils participates in processions, propaganda or political activities or in any dispute between an employer and his employees or in any disorderly assembly, he may, in his absolute direction, require the supervisor and principal to expel such pupils from the school or to suspend him for such time and under such conditions as the Director may specify (Education Department, 1971, 96.(1))
>
> No instruction, education, entertainment, recreation of propaganda or activity of any kind which, in the opinion of the Director, is in any way of a political or partly political nature and prejudicial to the public interest or the welfare of the pupils or of education generally or contrary to the approved syllabus, shall be permitted upon any school premises or upon the occasion of any school activity (Education Department 1971, 98 (1)).

Before the 1989 June 4th Incident, the Education Department would not allow schools to carry on any activities which were considered to be against the interests of the public or the welfare of the pupils. In July 1989, the Education Department prepared to amend the education

regulations to allow students to participate in political activities. Wáng (1989: 17-18) states that there was conflict in schools between the implementation of civic education and the [1986] Education Regulations. In March 1990, the amendment of schools' political activities was suggested and Lee Yuet-ting, the Director of Education, pointed out that this suggestion would encourage the implementation of civic education in schools (*Fai Pao*, January 21, 1992). In July 1990, the Hong Kong government and the Legislative Council agreed to amend any wording concerning political activities in schools (ibid). The regulations related to political activities were basically amended in 1990 and political activities were no longer explicitly forbidden (Morris 1992: 159). Moreover, the wordings concerning prejudicial activities was also altered in the December 1993 *Education Regulations* (No.98) and described as follows:[96]

> (1) No instruction, education, entertainment, recreation or activity of any kind of which, in the opinion of the Director, is in any way prejudicial to the welfare of the pupils or to their education generally shall be permitted upon any school premises or upon the occasion of any school or classroom activity.
> (2) The Director may give directions in writing or other guidance to the superior of any school as to the dissemination of information or expression of opinion of a political nature in that school, so as to ensure that that information or opinion is *unbiased* (Italic by the writer of the thesis).

As the issue of 1997 is coming, the Hong Kong Government has deliberately amended the education regulations. This act is to liberate the overall education system, so as to reduce central control over the political activities in schools.

5.2.3.4 Disestablishment of the four colleges of education

The effect of Hong Kong's return to Chinese sovereignty in 1997 will also ensure pattern of educational reform over the management of teacher training. As recommended in the fifth report of the Education Commission in 1992, the four colleges of education which were formerly under the direct control of the Education Department merged with the Institute of Language in Education (ILE) to form a publicly-funded autonomous institution, the Hong Kong Institute of Education (HKIE) in 1994. The disestablishment of the Colleges of education from the Government was accompanied by upgrading training standards, qualifications and conditions in 1994. The building of a new campus for the HKIE is expected to be completed by June 1997.

The image and quality of teacher education is expected to be improved after the set up of the HKIE. Formerly, the colleges of education and ILE were run by the Education Department. The admission criteria, curriculum and administration of the Colleges were controlled by the government. The recruitment of lecturers and staff was conducted by the Education Department and the employed lecturers and staff were civil servants. The Education Department determined the content and objectives of the curriculum for the colleges of education. Lecturers could only exercise their autonomy (e.g. teaching styles, teaching methods,etc.) at the level of classroom instruction. Presently, the new institution of education is acting outside the civil service and is independent from the Education Department. Academic freedom is closely linked with the autonomy of the Institute. Li

(1992: 261) argues that the formation of a democratic conscience is required by a democratic society through autonomous universities and colleges. Developing a more professional system of teacher education, as suggested by Morris (1992: 156), is a "counterbalance to any attempts by the government to use teacher training to promote its own political ideology." In February 1993, the Governor appointed a Provisional Governing Council to prepare for the establishment of the Institute. Twelve academic departments were set up and four curriculum directors are in charge of the courses for primary, secondary, pre-school and in-service training education (*Wah Kiu Yat Pao*, April 13, 1994). In September 1994, 2,721 full-time and 1,226 part-time students enrolled for the first time in the HKIE (*Hong Kong 1995: A Review of 1994*, p.167). The institute primarily centres on upgrading its courses at pre-degree level, while degree programmes are also in the schedule.[97]

Consequently, the inclusion of democratic constituents in the curriculum and the introduction of democratic procedures in school management are the democratising process of Hong Kong education. This decentralisation is likely to have a substantial impact on the future government of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region's (HKSAR) control over its education system. Questions will be raised whether the PRC government tolerates the democratisation of Hong Kong's education system, making it difficult for the PRC to administer the existing system.

5.2.4 The Limits on the Politicisation of Hong Kong Education System

This section illustrates the politicisation of educational policies which are controlled by the bureaucratic system, with reference to the power of the Education Department to overrule the content of school curriculum and the judgement of professional associations (such as the Curriculum Development Council and Textbooks Adjustment Commission) on the contents of Chinese History textbooks in 1994.

5.2.4.1 The composition and function of the Curriculum Development Council (CDC) and Curriculum Development Institute (CDI)

The CDC was set up in 1984 and comprises mainly government officials and other professionals appointed by the government. The CDC's composition includes heads of schools, practising teachers from government and non-government schools, lecturers from higher education institutions, officers of the Advisory Inspectorate, officers of other divisions of the Education Department and parents.[98] The Council is to advise the government, through the Director of Education, on curriculum matters. The CDC is administered by the government Advisory Inspectorate, and is responsible for designing curricula and approving school textbooks. Morris (1992: 155) points out that "a highly centralised system of educational decision-making" prevents schools from being used for "political indoctrination" with reference to "curriculum issues." Schools are confined to official documents which prescribe the nature of subject knowledge. This framework of "official" knowledge centres around what is included and excluded in textbooks which

signify the exercising power of the Council.

The CDI was a product of the fourth report of the Education Commission published in November 1990 but it was set up in 1992 as a new division of the Education Department. The CDI is made up of teachers, academics and other educational professionals drawn from the civil service. The institute is responsible for helping schools to implement curriculum policies and innovations; issuing curriculum guides and subject syllabuses; conducting research; developing resource materials; encouraging school-based curriculum projects; reviewing school textbooks on the advice of the Curriculum Development Council; and liaising with the Hong Kong Education Authority and the Advisory Inspectorate of the Education Department and teacher training institutions in the development and evaluation of the curriculum.[99] The CDC and CDI have stepped up the pressure on Hong Kong schools to follow the centralised educational policies and to adopt the approved textbooks to be used.

5.2.4.2 The exclusion of the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident in the Chinese History textbooks and other self-censorship of educational policies

The process of approving textbooks is one of the existing mechanisms of curriculum control used by the Education Department. This was prescribed in the "suggestions" for the curriculum guidance by the Education Department and a small sample included (Morris 1992: 136-137):

> - "EPA and history textbooks submitted for approval in 1986 should avoid reference to Hong Kong as a British colony";
> - "an EPA textbook should when discussing the Korean War, revise the phrase "North Korean armies attacked South Korea and war

> broke out" to read 'War broke out between North Korea and South Korea'";
> - "a geography text should delete a map that portrayed military missiles aimed by China and Russia at each other";
> - "a history text and school atlas should not show Tibet and Mongolia as separate countries prior to 1949.

These "suggestions" are accompanied by a reminder (Morris 1992: 137):

> "N.B. The Education Department reserves the right to delete the book from the recommended Textbook List if appropriate amendments are not made."

In 1986, the Education Department had used this reminder to ask Macmillan Publishers Ltd to delete the word "colony" from a textbook by referring to Hong Kong being "declared a British colony in 1843" (*South post Morning Post*, July 2, 1994, p.17). In June 1994, the Education Department again used the reminder to impose changes on two textbook publishers, Manhattan Press and Lingkee, who had incorporated the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident into Form 3 and Form 5 Chinese History textbooks respectively. The following text from the Manhattan Press was ordered to be deleted:

> "Since the economic reform and opening [to the outside world], corruption has emerged in the government of China. Facing this situation, Chinese young students and other people were dissatisfied, and demonstrated in Tiananmen Square in Beijing in May 1989. In June, the government intervened and then the event was pacified."[100]

In Lingkee's version the offending paragraph is just a footnote stating a democratic movement during April to June 1989: after the "clearing of Tiananmen Square, Jiang Zemin replaced Zhao Ziyang as Communist Party General Secretary" (*South China Morning Post*, July 13, 1994, p.3). On June

30 1994, the Director of the Education Department, Dominic Wong Shing-wah,[101] issued an administrative order to publishers instructing them not to incorporate events taking place in the last twenty years into history textbooks (*Ming Pao*, July 1, 1994, p.A8). Wong explains that history textbooks should not cover events which had happened less than twenty years ago because these events may not be "fairly judged".[102] Ironically, his colleagues had assessed the content of the "banned" F.3 Chinese History textbook that it would not mislead students in understanding the Incident (*Ming Pao*, June 27, 1994, p.A7).

The implications of this event are multifaceted. First of all, this incident illustrates the struggles between market forces and the state in Hong Kong. Publishers have to publish Chinese History textbooks in accordance with the rules set by the Education Department. For example, the lower chronological limits prescribed by the Education Department for history textbooks for ordinary (F.4-5) and advanced (F.6-7) level students over specified periods were up to 1976 - the year which saw the end of the Cultural Revolution in Mainland China but no lower limit is prescribed for F.1-F.3 Chinese History. Publishers can incorporate Chinese history events up to the most recent. Despite the freedom of incorporation, publishers may risk the chance of having their books not included in recommended textbook lists for schools and will not be "welcomed" by the Education Department. Morris (1992: 136) argues that publishers would rather "avoid publicity and make the suggested changes" for commercial reasons. Publishers, despite having the "final" authority to print textbooks, may delete politically

sensitive texts from them so that these textbooks will be included in the "List of Textbooks Suitable for Primary and Secondary Schools." The role of publishers is passive according to the instructions of the Education Department.

Secondly, this self-censorshiply Hong Kong publishers is also exercised in order to ensure that their textbooks are "politically correct" to the Beijing government. The chronological lower limit of Chinese History textbooks, in spite of having no theoretical ground or rationale, is also a political limit on discussing Mainland affairs in classrooms - the avoidance of discussing issues such as the Tiananmen Square Incident which are deemed politically sensitive by the PRC authorities. The colonial state's selective avoidance of offending China is the reason for the exclusion of the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident, while keeping other events such as the 1992 visit of Deng Xiaoping to Southern China in the same Chinese History textbooks, and other issues concerning political reform in Hong Kong and PRC-Hong Kong relations in other subjects such as Government and Public Affairs. The probable reason for not offending the PRC is that the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident was judged by the PRC as a social uprising and as counter-revolutionary activity. For China, the 1989 students' movement was regarded as "disloyal" and "unpatriotic" and Hong Kong was described as a subversive base to overthrow the Chinese communist authorities because of its support of the Beijing democratic movement. A spokesman of the HKPTU asserts that textbook publishers would "resort to self-censorship over sensitive political issues" and academic freedom is being

compromised by "administrative interference" (*The Times Educational Supplement*, July 15, 1994, p.11).

The third implication of the Chinese History issue is the increasing social pressures on the colonial bureaucratic administration. Opposition to the twenty-year rule strongly came from the non-state section, including professional associations such as the HKPTU and the Council of Secondary Aided Schools, and lecturers from universities and colleges of education. Cheung Man-kwong, a legislator and chairman of the HKPTU, describes Wong Shing-wah's decision as "a challenge to freedom of speech" and insensitivity to "social changes" (*South China Morning Post*, July 2, 1994, p.1). Academics from Hong Kong's three universities state that the Education Director had "obstructed the teaching of history" (*The Times Educational Supplement*, July 15, 1994, p.11). The Dean of the School of Education of Hong Kong University, Cheng Kai-ming criticises the Director of Education for administrative interference and neglecting the professional judgement of the Curriculum Development Council and Textbooks Adjustment Commission which had already assessed these textbooks (*Ming Pao*, July 1, 1994, p.A8). Cheng also points out that the Director of Education lacks professional knowledge and he has to consult with professionals to handle these matters (*Sing Tao* Daily, July 1, 1994). He argues that the Education Department has "over-reacted" to the inclusion of the 1989 June 4th Incident in Chinese History textbooks (*South China Morning Post*, July 2, 1994, p.17). Moreover, more than 80% of the chairpersons of the history subject in Hong Kong secondary schools oppose

the policy of the twenty-year rule applied to the history textbooks (*Ming Pao*, September 23, 1994, p.A8).

Besides the increasing pressures from professional associations, the Director's "climbing down" suggests the effects of political pluralism (institutionalised in the elected legislature with three major non-ruling political parties, United Democratic, Meeting point and Liberal Party). Facing criticism from legislators, the Director claimed that it would be up to the publishers to determine the inclusion of the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident in their textbooks (*South China Morning Post*, July 6, 1994, p.3). In order to avoid government officials dictating the content of textbooks, legislator Tik Chi-yuen suggests that curriculum development should be "independent from government interventions" (Fung in *South China Morning Post*, July 11, 1994, p.13).

Consequently, the Education Department announced that the two textbooks publishers, Manhattan Press and Lingkee, would preserve the description of the 1989 Incident in their textbooks but appropriate amendments were to be made about this Incident (*Sing Tao* Daily, August 25, 1994). The previous statement, "Chinese young students and other people were dissatisfied" in the Manhattan Press book was deleted. The following text from the Manhattan Press was re-written:

> ".....Economic inflation has emerged in China, and the [economic] development was not balanced. This led to the awareness of the government and the dissatifaction of some citizens....."[103]

After the amendment, this textbook is categorised in the "List of Textbooks Suitable for Primary and Secondary Schools". The history textbook of the

Manhattan Press was published on August 31, 1994.

The censorship of textbooks, as the writer argues, is a move to stop schools and teachers from having control over the portrayal of the Incident and give the Education Department (the state) or the future Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) unchecked power to determine what should and should not be included in textbooks. Wēng Xīn-qiǎo, the Director of Educational Technology of the New China News Agency (NCNA) Hong Kong Branch, asserts that the government should have the authority to adopt administrative orders to control the content of textbooks (*Ming Pao*, September 26, 1994). The cultural sub-group of the Preliminary Working Committee (PWC) which was founded in July 1993 also suggests that there are three criteria for judging the content of school curricula/textbooks after 1997: (1) the content of textbooks should not be against the Basic Law;[104] (2) the textbook publishers should respect the concept of one China; and (3) any colonial reference should be removed and revised.[105] For example, textbooks should be revised, to cease indicating two Chinas in the content. Presently Taiwan is called "Republic of China" which is against the spirit of "one country, two systems". In the future, the HKSAR will change the name of Taiwan to "Taiwan Province" or "Taiwan Regional Government" in the textbooks (*Ming Pao*, September 12, 1994 & *Fai Pao*, November 8, 1995).[106]

On the other hand, the Hong Kong Education Department has given to problems an outline of a new subject which will be introduced to maintain a good Sino-relationship between Hong Kong and the PRC under

the heading General Studies in 1996, and has asked them to write textbooks. Publishers are reluctant to write textbooks on such a sensitive subject. With the uncertain political future ahead of Hong Kong, two major publishers have given up printing textbooks for General Studies which might bring possible conflict with China (*South China Morning Post*, December 9, 1994). The Chairman of the Anglo-Chinese Textbook Publishers Organisation, Peter Tam Hon-san, argues that it will be a "waste of resources" to publish such books in 1996 when political changes are anticipated in 1997 (Lee 1994). For the sake of economic interests, a form of self-censorship would be exercised by commercial companies (publishers). Hence, the domination of the Hong Kong colonial state (Education Department) over market forces (publishers) still prevails in the late period running up to 1997.

Therefore, self-censorship of Hong Kong educational policy can be viewed as a provisional outcome of the socio-political transformation. A Hong Kong-born university lecturer also notes that most of his colleagues have exercised self-censorship to avoid being involved in political trouble after 1997 (*South China Morning Post*, December 14, 1994, p.5). Rosario (1995: 18) remarks that "pro-democracy crusaders are noticeably absent from the Chinese roll call of Hong Kong academics....." Therefore, "signs of self-censorship", as noted by Cheng (1995: 266), apparently increase in the academic field. On the one hand, academics are aware that criticism of the PRC authorities is an obstacle for them to promotion to senior administrative positions like faculty deans and vice-chancellors of

universities. On the other hand, it will not be easy for them to ask for grants and funding support from the private sector (ibid).

With reference to Hong Kong music education, there is no sign of politicisation in the incorporation of political issues. No political songs (including either the PRC's patriotic songs or Chinese political songs for democracy and political freedom) were introduced in the formal music curriculum. By contrast, the Chinese History subject has introduced Form 3 students to the national anthem of the PRC, "To Stand Up" (Qǐlái) under the topic of the formation of the PRC government in 1949.[107]

5.3 LOCALISATION OF HONG KONG MUSIC EDUCATION AND THE DOMINATION OF THE STATE OVER HONG KONG MUSIC EDUCATION

5.3.1 Localisation of Hong Kong Music Education

5.3.1.1 The introduction of Cantonese as the medium of instruction in schools

The implementation of a major dialect (Cantonese) as a medium of instruction is intended to overcome the political and linguistic barriers produced by British colonial rule. Lam Woon-kwong, the Director of Hong Kong Education Department since January 1995, says that the use of Cantonese is considered as one of the most important curriculum innovations (*Ming Pao*, January 13, 1995, p.B7). This is, on the one hand, to boost students' interest and make learning more efficient. The increased use of Cantonese as the native language, on the other hand, is to strengthen "the process of democratisation in schools" in terms of localisation (Friederichs 1992: 170).[108]

In the 1994 report on language proficiency, the Education Commission recommended that English should not generally be taught until Primary 4 (i.e. the normal age is nine).[109] The emphasis on Chinese and on training in speaking Putonghua (Mandarin) in the report is to cope with the growth of the Chinese economy and the transfer of Hong Kong's sovereignty from Britain to China in 1997 (*United Daily Pao*, July 17, 1994). Yeung Jiu-chung, the chairperson of the Hong Kong Federation of Education Workers, agrees that the policy of not learning English until Primary 4 is good, enabling pupils to have a good foundation in developing their mother language and that this will change the attitude of people towards learning Chinese as inferior to learning English (*Seung Pao*, July 16, 1994).

This policy, however, was resisted by some parents who declare that they would employ private tutors to teach their children English if the government introduced the new language policy (Kwok & Law in *South China Morning Post*, July 14, 1994, p.5). A survey named "Is it right to learn English until Primary Four" (Xoǎosì Xué Yíngwéng Yánwúyán) was conducted by *Wen Wei Pao* Daily News among 1010 parents in twenty-two areas in Hong Kong through street interviews and the parents' replies from hot-line telephones in August 1994. 62.7% of the parents objected to the new language policy. They were afraid that it would be too late for their children to learn English and that this would affect their ability in studying English (*Wen Wei Pao*, August 29, 1994).[110] Moreover, fifty-six of the church of Shing Kung Hui associated primary schools conducted a survey which was viewed as revealing strong disagreement toward this new language

policy among schools. All principals (i.e. from 56 primary schools) objected to this language proposal and 90% of the respondents (including primary teachers and parents of these fifty-six schools) disagreed with the language recommendation (*Sing Tao* Daily, November 21, 1994). This suggests that the recommendation to use Chinese as the medium of teaching instruction is not so greatly welcomed in most schools. Nevertheless, church-run schools, which account for a quarter of Hong Kong's kindergartens, one-third of its primary schools and more than half of its secondary schools, "tremble" for the Hong Kong education system when Hong Kong becomes part of the Chinese territory in 1997.[111] If the post-1997 government wants to reduce the power of church-run schools, withdrawal of government funds can cause these religious schools to shut down after 1997. Under these circumstances, the Catholic schools have switched from English to Cantonese as the medium of instruction in order to dispel the image of church education as an apparatus of colonial education (Sharma 1995: 14).

Under the language streaming policy, secondary schools had to choose either Chinese or English as the major teaching medium in the academic year 1994-1995: about 220 (i.e. 57 percent of the total) secondary schools have chosen English as the medium of instruction, 52 Chinese and the rest will use Chinese or English depending on classes or subjects (Kowk in *South China Morning Post*, July 13, 1994). However, 25 out of 38 government secondary schools adopted English as the medium of instruction in the academic year of 1994-1995 (*Ming Pao*, November 1994, p.A2). With efforts of the Education Department to encourage principals to make the

switch from English to Chinese, 392 secondary schools (about 70%) are anticipated to be using Chinese as their teaching medium by 1998 (Lee in *South China Morning Post*, September 6, 1994).

Nevertheless, the language policy does not affect music education because most schools adopt the use of Cantonese as the medium of instruction in cultural/arts subjects in Hong Kong. Although most secondary music textbooks are in English, teachers are used to carrying out their music lessons in Cantonese.

5.3.1.2 The introduction of teaching materials in Chinese

Teaching materials in Chinese are lacking in Hong Kong. Music textbooks written in Chinese have been rather limited and they are mostly based on Western musical knowledge. Luk (1990: 383) claims that the small choice of approved textbooks of all subjects written in Chinese is due to the "small size of the market" and he suggests that a government fund should be earmarked for subsidizing the development of textbooks in Chinese. According to *Hong Kong 1994: A Review of 1993* (1994:141), ten sets of reference books in Chinese which covered five sixth-form subjects were published in September with government assistance totalling $9.1 million under the Incentive Award Scheme recommended by the Chinese Textbooks Committee (CTC).[112] Nevertheless, there is no funding to promote music textbooks in Chinese (up to the moment of writing). This may be due to the small amount of candidates sitting for the A-level music examination.

5.3.1.3 The promotion of Hong Kong local culture

Friederichs (1992: 170) points out, "localisation would investigate, as a primary task, methods of strengthening the relationship between schooling and the culture." In the light of the socio-political transformation, students should be encouraged to have a knowledge of and respect for Hong Kong culture. As argued by Chén, "The localised ideology is the root and soul of cultural arts" (in *Ming Pao*, November 11, 1995, p.C5; translated by Ho Wai-chung). The promotion of Hong Kong culture, including music has been clearly spelt out in the "School Education in Hong Kong: A Statement of Aims" published by the Education and Manpower Branch in 1993:

> Much of Hong Kong's success can be attributed to its exposure to both Chinese and Western influences. Awareness of the cultural heritage - including the arts, music , literature, and religion - of both China and the West can help students develop a secure identity grounded in Hong Kong's specific cultural context (p.22).

Hong Kong's style of Chinese music is recommended to be part of the teaching materials in the music curriculum. The suggested teaching materials include local music so as to give students a basic understanding and appreciation of Hong Kong culture.

5.3.1.4 The decentralisation of arts policy

For the decentralised policy, the *Arts Policy Review Report*[113] suggests that tasks of the Music Office can be transferred from the government sector into the non-government sectors.[114] As mentioned in Part One, the Music Office has provided various instrumental music training programmes for young people between 6 to 23 years of age at both territory-wide and

district levels since its establishment in 1977. In 1989, the Music Office, as a fully Government funded body, employed 180 teaching and administrative staff and gave low cost instrumental training (excluding piano or voice) to about 4,000 students in eight centres in Hong Kong. However, in 1993 the number of trainees dropped to about 3,000 making up over 600 training classes in both Western and Chinese instruments conducted in five music centres (*Hong Kong 1994: A Review of 1993*, p.355). On the one hand, the drop of the number of trainees of the Music Office made the government consider closing some of the centres of the Office. On the other hand, this drove the government to privatise the Music Office by making it concerned with the provision of musical training which should not only rest on the government. The argument of the Hong Kong government concerning the privatisation of musical training is that the control and monopoly of music policies only can be found in an autocratic country which seeks to organise artistic life with a rational planning co-ordination and with ongoing political campaigns. Music has been an issue in the cultural and political spheres. The separation from the government may help solve this problematic matter. Moreover, the development of non-government sectors will help to cut down the government's annual expenditure. According to the *Arts Policy Review Report* (1993: 30), the Government's annual recurrent expenditure on the Music Office was HK$40.8 million. The burden of such expenditure can be taken up by the business sectors to support the local musical activities. The *Arts Policy Review Report* maintains that it is a "healthy partnership between the Government and the private sector" (1993: 17).

As from August 1995, the Urban Council and Regional Council have jointly taken over the services of the Government owned Music Office and now the Council's Music Office continues to carry its responsibility to promote music among the public, as well as through school concerts. Presently, there are about 3,500 trainees in five music centres situated at Wan Chai, Kwun Tong, Mong Kok, Shatin and Tsuen Wan (*City News*, August 1995, p.30). Gradually, private enterprises (non-government sectors) running various music programmes are expected to be set up to replace the state-supported musical activities. At the same time, there has been a growing interest in the private sector sponsoring the development of the arts.

To sum up, this thesis argues that political tensions caused by the contradictions between Hong Kong and the PRC were thought to be accommodated by localisation. Within the localisation of music education, the deliberate policy is the use of Cantonese as the medium of instruction and the introduction of more Chinese teaching materials in the curriculum. Within the decentralised educational system, the Hong Kong state tried to remove its control over arts development in the non-educational sectors.

5.3.2 Dynamic Changes to Current Music Syllabuses in the Introduction of Chinese music: from 1983 - 1992

This section describes the dimensions of musical knowledge of Hong Kong secondary schools in the introduction of Chinese music set by the three current music syllabuses for Forms 1-3 (1983), Forms 4-5 (1987), and Forms 6-7 (1992), devised by the Curriculum Development Council (CDC), accordingly.

Owing to the imminent political change, the 1983 music syllabus for junior secondary forms firstly emphasised the introduction of Chinese music in listening programmes and singing Chinese folk songs as part of the repertoire. Nevertheless, the recommendation of Chinese music is mainly focused on listening activities. According to the music syllabus (1983), the allocation of two music lessons is recommended weekly and fifty music lessons are suggested for organising three basic activities (singing, music reading and listening) in an academic year. Moreover, it is advised that ten minutes in each music lesson should contain listening to both Western and Chinese music. Hence, twenty-five ten-minute units are suggested to be structured at each junior level for the introduction of Chinese music (*Music Syllabus for Forms 1-3*, 1983).

For the current *1987 Syllabus for General Music (Forms 4-5)*, six areas: of singing, instrumental playing, listening, aural training and music reading, creative music making and music projects are suggested, and Chinese music is encouraged in the areas of listening and music projects. The development of the Chinese orchestra and its music are taught under the suggested topics of listening. Topics in Chinese music are also introduced in music projects, e.g. the styles of ancient and modern Chinese music, development of Chinese opera, development of Chinese court music, etc. Compared with the 1983 music syllabus for junior classes, more detailed information about Chinese music is prescribed in the 1987 one for Forms 4-5 students.

Although the topics of Chinese music are not compulsory for teachers

to teach the A-level students, the introduction of Chinese music has increased with reference to the socio-political context of the impending return of Hong Kong's sovereignty to China in 1997. The study of Chinese music is suggested to be compatible with Western music in the syllabus (1992). The *1992 Music Syllabus for Advanced level* states, "This syllabus aims to provide students with an opportunity.....to study Western/and/ or Chinese music....." (p.7). It is the first time that an official document has identified the role of Chinese music as being as important as Western music on the whole, and that students have an equal opportunity to study either one or both of these two types of music.[115] In Sections A and B of the syllabus (1992), Chinese music is included in three units (out of the total four units in Sections A & B): Unit 1 (Aural and General Skills); Unit 3 (Musical Styles, Cultures & Historical Development); and Unit 4: (Chinese music).[116] Compared with the 1983 and 1987 music syllabuses, the music syllabus for Forms 6-7 (1992) places more emphasis on the understanding of Chinese music and its development in relation to representative masterworks and their historical background.

Although Chinese music is present in the syllabus in practice, it does not enjoy a high status in the Hong Kong music education system. The unfamiliarity of Chinese music among teachers and the packed school time-table do not allow students to have opportunities to appreciate Chinese music. The writer will further discuss this issue in the analysis of the survey in Chapter Seven.

5.3.3 Official Musical Knowledge

In this section, the writer will explain the organisation and authority of the state in terms of promoting highly controlled traditional Western musical knowledge in Hong Kong secondary music education. Three indicators are used to illustrate the domination of the state over music education: (1) the influence of the examination certificate issued by the state; (2) the content and structure of musical knowledge in the curriculum; and (3) the control of musical meaning.

5.3.3.1 The state certificates of music examinations

First, the dominant form of secondary curriculum materials is devised according to the examination syllabuses provided by the Hong Kong Examination Authority (HKEA), such as Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination (HKCEE) for Form 5 students and Hong Kong Advanced Level Examination (HKAL) for Form 7 students. Traditional Western music has long been regarded as "high-status" and "authentic" knowledge in the state certificates of music examinations.

There are just a few secondary schools providing music for senior secondary education in Hong Kong. Students have to take part in the course scheduled by the government for public examinations and the Curriculum Development Council (CDC) and the HKEA are responsible for running these music courses. However, teaching support for the Certificate of Education Examination in Music does not come from secondary schools. According to Hiebert (1993: 78), this support is only available from a few

secondary schools, some individual teachers and the Education Department's Centralised Music Teaching Scheme.[117] Morris (1992: 10) criticises the fact that the result of the centralised examinations is the production of CDC and HKEA syllabuses; and this policy-making is "dominated by bureaucrats, generic in emphasis."[118]

Moreover, the content of general music knowledge taught in secondary schools has laid the foundation of higher music education. The traditional Western music learning of secondary schools is related to the classical musical training of higher education as well as the development of performing arts in Hong Kong during the late 1980s and the early 1990s. In analysing the examination paper (Music Paper II: Basic Musical Knowledge) of the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination (HKCEE) in 1989, the present author found that the questions featured traditional Western composers and their works (Ho 1992, p.53 & Appendix 6). Although the HKAL Music Examination incorporates a Basic Skills component from 1994, the paper emphasises the "fundamental understanding of western music techniques and aural skills" (Hiebert 1993: 79).

5.3.3.2 The structure of musical knowledge in schools

Second, the structures of musical knowledge are centralised by the government agencies. As discussed before, the CDC and the HKEA maximize the use of state power to control the music content of secondary music education. Music syllabuses and examinations always express and

inculcate the musical value of the "high-culture" knowledge of the Western tradition. Under the mechanism of the CDC, the horizon of musical knowledge is extended to develop musical literacy and practical music making in both singing and playing musical instruments.[119] Similarly, the fundamental activities of music in schools of Great Britain are suggested to be composing, performing and appraising and listening. As defined by the number of items in the Programme of Study of the English National Curriculum, composing takes up 31.0% of the class music activities, performing 40.4% and listening/appraising 27.6% (Swanwick 1994: 6). In terms of the transmission of musical knowledge, Hong Kong music education mainly stresses one dimension: training for the acquisition of musical skills. Composing has never been formally introduced as the core of music activities in the curriculum.

Swanwick (1994: 25) identifies musical knowledge as "multi-layered" and categorises musical knowledge as "materials (knowing how), expression and form (knowing this) and value (knowing what's what)". "Materials, expression and form", as suggested by Swanwick (1994: 160) are identified as three layers of musical knowledge and "points of departure for curriculum activity" and the fourth layer is an ultimate educational aim for the cultivation of "value". Swanwick argues that musical knowledge takes the form of direct acquaintance knowledge, and maintains that any analysis of musical meaning will take place within the "matrix of knowledge" (1994: 25). In the scope of Swanwick's theories, the structure of musical knowledge in Hong Kong is mainly divided into two areas: skills (knowing how:

discriminating in rhythm, pitch, loudness, timbre with different styles of Western music); and information (knowing that - technical vocabulary to describe musical structures and musical styles in listening). "Knowing this" and "knowing what's what" are secondary or even have low priority in musical experience in Hong Kong music education.

Swanwick also notes that "intuitive, personal or acquaintance knowledge lies at the heart of musical experience" (1994: 26) and it is not, as it can appear to be, "a form of day-dreaming"; rather it is "an active way of construing the world" (1994: 28). However, the perception of the aesthetic is not conceived as the totality of music education in Hong Kong. Creative music making is structured as an additional activity in schools in junior secondary forms. Creative music making in Hong Kong, as indicated in the *1987 Syllabus for General Music (Forms 4-5)*, is only one of the six areas of musical training; the others are practical activities such as singing, instrumental playing, listening, aural training and music reading.[120] Creative activities and the creativity of students present difficulties in being developed in real classroom practice by the existing institutionalisation of music education. Hosier (1993: 65) criticises that Hong Kong philosophy of education which is aimed "towards specific vocational goals and lucrative opportunities rather than the realisation of a child's potential and the nurturing of an individual talent." David Guilt, a music professor at the Hong Kong Chinese University, argues that the cultivation of creativity should be more important than singing and listening in schools' music lessons, but this scope of music education needs to be further developed in

Hong Kong education (*South China Morning Post: Young Post*, December 6, 1994, p.1). In order to promote and support musical creativity, the Hong Kong Arts Development Council's *Consultative Document: Strategic Plan: 1996-2001* also outlines this proposal as one of the important goals of music development in Hong Kong (1995: 35 & 37).

5.3.3.3 Controlled musical meaning

Third, the policies of Hong Kong music education, as the writer has mentioned before, are made by a highly autonomous bureaucracy and the meaning of musical knowledge is shaped by a gratification of the sense in traditional music, rather than a communication of its delineated musical meaning.

Musical meaning in terms of Hong Kong musical knowledge in schools is supposed to be absolute in the sense that it is intrinsic to the sounds themselves, based on pupils' perception and understanding of the formal structure of the music. The learning of Western classical music in junior secondary music education in Hong Kong is based on tonal structures and their musical characteristics and styles. The meaning of this music belongs to the sensuous percept itself. Chan Wing-wah, Music Head of the Hong Kong Chinese University, argues that "Generally speaking, Hong Kong music education is limited to the imitation of sounds. Students adopt the imitative styles to sing or perform the music and they lack the understanding of cultural background of the music. This is the reason why [Hong Kong] students are not able to distinguish different musical styles"

(1989: 24; translated by Ho Wai-chung).

Although the introduction of Chinese music in the syllabuses is viewed as the provisional outcome of a continuous socio-political struggle, the delineated musical meaning of Chinese music is defined as "culturalism" and/or "nationalism". As interpreted by the writer, the inclusion of Chinese music is seen as a transmission of the Chinese cultural tradition. For example, the aim of learning traditional Chinese music is to provide "Chinese students in Junior Secondary Forms with a basic understanding and knowledge of their own cultural heritage" (*1983 Music Syllabus for Junior Secondary Forms*, p.6). Musical knowledge is explicitly conceived of as being "a-political" and implicitly concerned with the transmission of the Chinese cultural tradition in its nature.

In sum, this section has argued that the school musical knowledge of the colonial state has been mainly presented in terms of Western cultural conventions by the mechanisms of the CDC and the HKEA. The Education Department has been an important actor in shaping the school musical knowledge of the colonial state. The core of musical knowledge is drawn overwhelmingly from a specific high culture as a form of socio-political and cultural control and the political/democratic consciousness has never been introduced in formal Hong Kong music education. Despite the socio-political changes during the transitional period of Hong Kong, school musical knowledge is mainly framed by the acquisition of musical skills of Western knowledge and some traditional Chinese music, rather than the focus on shared meanings within a wider socio-cultural context, as well as the

development of personal creativity.

5.4 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This chapter has described the relations between the overall education system and the music education system in Hong Kong with reference to the political considerations of the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration and the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident.

This chapter has argued that the education innovations from the 1980s to the mid-1990s related to the events of the June 4th Incident and the growing politicisation of Hong Kong society. It was suggested that these innovations and events provide the means to measure the magnitude of politicising the curriculum, the partial decentralisation of the Hong Kong education system, as well as the localisation of Hong Kong education. However, tensions between the politicised school curriculum and the bureaucratic education system have entailed limitation to the politicisation of school subjects, such as the deletion of the politically sensitive issue of the June 4th Incident in Chinese History textbooks. The censorship of textbooks is anticipated as a method for the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) authorities to exercise political control over the content of school subjects after 1997. The curriculum changes of the overall education system were conducive to an inherent conflict between the bureaucratic orientation of the Hong Kong Education Department and the dramatic socio-political changes. In comparison, relatively fewer changes were made in the curriculum of music education than in its political

structure, and than in other parts of the education system in Hong Kong.

Despite the coming of 1997 and despite the official inclusion of Chinese music, in practice, traditional Western music learning still plays an over-ridingly important role in Hong Kong music education. This will be further argued in Part Three. The materials of musical knowledge for Hong Kong secondary schools are shaped and conducted by the Hong Kong state. They bear no explicit political orientation in the musical content, but they carry implicit political purposes to make music education function as a politically socialising force in Hong Kong.

The next enquiry (Part Three) highlights the tensions of Hong Kong music education in respect of literature review and the analysis of questionnaires to Hong Kong music teachers in Chapters Six and Seven accordingly. In Chapter Six, the thesis outlines the educational dilemmas of Hong Kong music education in socio-political, cultural and economic perspectives. The chapter highlights the fact that music is a political, cultural, economic and educational artefact which has interacted with these different spheres in the 1990s.

PART THREE

TENSIONS OF HONG KONG MUSIC EDUCATION

CHAPTER SIX

FORCES SHAPING THE DILEMMAS OF HONG KONG MUSIC EDUCATION AFTER THE 1989 TIANANMEN SQUARE INCIDENT

6.1 PURPOSE AND ARGUMENT

This chapter will describe forces shaping contemporary Hong Kong music education, through discussion of the relations of music with political changes, culture, economy and education. In particular, comparisons will be made between other social agencies, such as teachers unions, and formal music education in transmitting the concept of democracy to students. This chapter argues that the forces which operate in the socio-political transformation of Hong Kong music education are a unified problematic of a political, cultural and economic climate. This constitutes the availability and contradiction of musical choices among students within and outside schools.

6.2 EDUCATIONAL DILEMMAS WITH REFERENCE TO SOCIO-POLITICAL, CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVES

6.2.1 Political Tensions in the Hong Kong Education System

6.2.1.1 The political role of teachers and other social institutions

This section argues that teachers and other social agencies, taking political and educational roles, are the transmitters of the values of democracy. Teachers and other social agencies are more open than the Education Department in the introduction of democratic activities to students.

Before and during the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident, the pro-

democratic movement in China won the moral support of Hong Kong teachers and students. According to Luk (1990: 39), Hong Kong teachers and students were the most active people involved in the response to the democratic movement. Luk (1990: 393) also recognises that university or secondary school students did not only involve themselves in "these demonstrations and a massive fund-raising concert", but also in "countless smaller marches, teach-ins, and other gatherings" (1990: 393). All sorts of voluntary societies and associations connected with formal education and extra-curricular activities expressed their support and sympathy for the Chinese patriotic pro-democratic movement in China and their condemnation of the PRC's brutal suppression (Sweeting 1990: 19).

After the Incident, teachers' unions and students extended their deepest sympathy to those who had died in China for the cause of freedom and democracy, as well as support for the patriotic movement for democracy in Beijing. Sweeting (1990: 27) regards the event of June 4th Incident as "an activity oriented political education" provided to the Hong Kong youth. Cheng Kai-nam, who was the leader of the Hong Kong Federation of Education Workers (HKFEW) and who was perceived by the Hong Kong press as a pro-Beijing activist, joined the popular protest calling for the resignation of Premier Li Peng (Wilson 1990: 220). On June 6th 1989, the Hong Kong Professional Teachers' Association (HKPTA) and the Colleges of Education, and the Hong Kong University called for a strike for all primary and secondary schools on June 7th 1989 which was scheduled as the date for the mourning of the deaths in Beijing.[1] The appeal of "three

strikes" (Sānbà) was made to the public on June 7th, 1989: stop labouring, stop marketing and stop schooling.[2] Working with the HKPTA, the HKFEW and the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movement in China (HKASPDMC) played a significant role in encouraging patriotic education for secondary students in schools. On that day, senior secondary school students were encouraged to participate in the demonstration and assembly held by the HKASPDMC in five different gathering places in Hong Kong Island, Kowloon and the New Territories. However, the HKPTA feared that some people would provoke social disorder, thus the commemorative activities were suggested to be postponed and carried out in primary and secondary schools on June 9th, 1989 (*Wen Wei Pao*, June 8th, 1989).

Nevertheless, the colonial state of Hong Kong has overall control in education. The Hong Kong Education Department did not intend to educate for a politically literate population immediately after the 1989 June 4th Incident. Democratic values have been difficult to implement through the "overt curriculum" in formal education. Apple claims that the "state itself is an arena of conflict" (Dale 1989: 13) and Fullan (1982: 296) notes that "we cannot expect the school to be much more democratic than society." Morris (1991:111) demonstrates that a legislative Councilor had called for an urgent need for political education in January 1984 but the Director of Education argued that it was too "risky" to do so in the curriculum. Morris (ibid) also asserts that this incident reflects the views of the Hong Kong Government which is reluctant to introduce politics as a school subject. Fan

Hus Lai-tai, the chairperson of the Education Commission, claimed that the Commission was not a "forum for politicking" and emphasised that education could "avoid being politicised" (*South China Morning Post*, March 2, 1991).

Teacher-colonial state relations in Hong Kong comprises an extended war over the nature of teacher professionalism in the politics of education. Although the Director of the Education Department did not exercise his authority to dismiss any teachers and students who had taken part in the political activities such as demonstrations and political propaganda, the Education Department remained silent on the subject of democratic education (Wáng in *Ming Pao Monthly Journal*, August 1989, p.16). As the democratic activities are not initiated by the Education Department, the role of teachers is shaped by educational and political tasks in schools. Teachers unions like the HKPTU, rather than the Education Department and Education Commission, organised activities to transmit the concepts of democracy to students. When the Education Commission's fourth report came out in 1990, there was an "unexpectedly strong and relatively unified response from various schools and teachers" organisation. The growing power of local educational unions was said to be an indication of dissatisfied local teachers who lost faith in the education system (*South China Morning Post*, February 2, 1991). In April 1995, members of the HKPTU agreed to join the World Teachers Union. One member of the HKPTU wondered whether this decision was to seek political assistance because of the coming of 1997. Teachers and their unions were expected to position themselves

within the processes of domestic political transformation. However, the president of the HKPTU, Cheung Man-kwong stated that this act was only undertaken out of professional educational considerations, not for the politicisation of Hong Kong education (*Sing Tao* Daily, May 1, 1995, p.B3).

Besides the HKPTU, other social institutions have promoted activities for students to face the socio-political changes in Hong Kong. The Third Hong Kong Students' Selection Top 10 News was jointly organised by Hong Kong New Generation Cultural Association, Hok Yau Club, the Youth Cultural Service and Hong Kong Students Press Group to bring students to an awareness of what happened around the world.[3] Moreover, the recent contest of the Inter-school Basic Law Competition, jointly organised by the Federation of Education Workers, Hong Kong Commercial Daily and Cable Learning Channel, was addressed to help students understand their rights and obligations after 1997 through study of the Basic Law (*South China Morning Post*, March 2, 1995).[4]

In order to prepare for the transfer of Hong Kong's sovereignty from the United Kingdom to the PRC in 1997, the retreating state of Hong Kong proposes to introduce more political education in formal education and in extra-curricular activities to strengthen students in the understanding of the future of the territory. There was a survey conducted by "97 United Council" (Jiŭqī Liánxí Huì) on December 1994. Questionnaires were sent to 47 schools, including 32 secondary schools, 12 primary schools and 3 kindergartens. Altogether 1169 questionnaires were collected (702 from secondary school teachers, 417 from primary school teachers and 50 from

kindergarten schools). The survey discovered that 85.6% respondents agreed with each other that the content of nationalism should be promoted among students. 88% of the respondents noted that education in the Basic Law should be introduced as part of the secondary curriculum and 94% of them recognised that Mandarin, the official language of the PRC, should be a compulsory subject in schools (*Wen Wei Pao*, July 3, 1995).

6.2.1.2 Transmission of the concept of democracy in Hong Kong music education

As discussed in Chapter Four, Hong Kong music moved from the stage of not offending China to a stage of contradiction during and after the Tiananmen Square Incident in 1989, with the toleration of songs against PRC activities. Within the school environment, some music teachers have gained a "new" sense of committing students to introduce civic education by singing political/democratic songs in schools. This marked the beginning for students to participate in political activities through music. Although democratic and political songs were common in society, they were not allowed in school even after the event of June 4th Incident in 1989. The education regulation states:

> No salutes, *songs*, dances, slogans, uniform, flags, documents or symbols which, in the opinion of the Director, are in any way of a political or partly political nature shall be used, displayed or worn, as the case may be, upon any school premises or upon the occasion of any school activity except with the permission of the Director and in accordance with such conditions as he may see fit to impose.[5]

Teachers and students unofficially promoted these political popular songs and sang for the remembrance of the 1989 democratic movement. Singing

and analysing social and political songs were regarded as political opposition in schools and Hong Kong formal education felt it was dangerous to take the socio-political context of music into consideration. According to Postiglione, the apparent tension between the cultural identity of Hong Kong students and Hong Kong educational policy was entangled in the "ideological contradiction between capitalism, socialism and patriotism" (1992: 30-31).

Nevertheless, music for democracy was propagandised through diverse social institutions, for example, concerts by popular singers, Hong Kong musicians and even religious organisations. As mentioned in Chapter Four, Hong Kong popular singers devoted themselves to the democratic movement in Hong Kong by promoting various concerts for singing democratic and/or political Chinese popular songs. Anne Boyd, the former Chairperson of the Hong Kong Society for Music Education (HKSME), claimed that the HKSME was a "non-political" organisation but she maintained that local musicians had certainly played their part during the 1989 political events of China. Boyd also believed that music had a special function to play in society as a release for "feelings of anger and grief" as well as a channel for the "expression of deeply felt patriotism" (*Newsletter* of the HKSME, No.5, August 1989, p.1). The Hong Kong Christian Institute (1990) devised a teaching kit, including songs for teachers and students to sing to promote the idea of democracy in schools.[6] In the teaching kit "Reflection on June 4 Event", two democratic Chinese popular songs, "All For Freedom" (Cǐ Zìyóu) and "Blood-stained Glory" (Xiěrǎn De

Fēngbiàn)[7], are suggested for students to sing as the conclusion of the lesson of civic education on "*Moral Virtue*".[8] Outside the school environment, Szeto Wah, leader of the HKASPDMA, noted that the singing of Chinese democratic songs took place in marches, demonstrations and assemblies after the June 4th Incident (HKASPDMA 1994: Foreword). These political/democratic popular songs were directly against both the Chinese authorities of the PRC and the British colonial administration. It was regarded as an overtly political way to enhance the political consciousness of Hong Kong students.

The HKASPDMC also organised the "Fifth anniversary of the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident: Commemorative Vigil" at Victoria Park, Hong Kong on June 4th, 1994 (8:00 p.m. - 10:10 p.m.). The theme of this vigil was to ask the Beijing authorities "to reverse their verdict on the June 4th (incident)."[9] 12,000 people (including teachers and students) attended this vigil (*South China Morning Post* June 5, 1994, p.1). Eight songs were sung with political messages. For example, the lyrics of "Flower of Freedom" (Zìyóu Huā) and "The Sun of May" (Wǔyuè De Yánggung) were filled with longing for political freedom; and "Mourning for Good Men" (Jì Hǎohàn) is an expression of Hong Kong people's sorrow for the deaths in the 1989 Beijing students' movement. At the candlelight vigil commemorating the sixth anniversary of the June 4th Incident, about 20,000 people[10] pledged to rally on behalf of the HKASPDMC and screens at the vigil broadcast images of the late singer Teresa Tang in a local pro-democracy concert (*South China Morning Post*, June 5, 1995, pp.1 &3). Democratic popular

songs had become a cultural product which was attached to the vitality of the Hong Kong indigenous culture as a reproduction of Chinese identity. Luk (1990: 392) suggests that Hong Kong people came to celebrate the "two horns of their identity - to be truly Chinese and yet distinctively Hong Kong, to identify with the students and citizens of Beijing and yet to be glad to be here and not there."

Hong Kong mass media also introduced Cantonese popular songs as a means to promote civic education for the public. For example, a TVB television programme named "Concert for the Basic Law - Joy to the World, and Better for Tomorrow" pursued for political education through Cantonese popular songs. This was the most popular programme (having 1,584,000 viewers, i.e. 84% of the total) during the week of December 19 to December 25, 1994 (*Ming Pao*, January 1, 1995, p.B10).

To conclude, formal music education is more conservative than other social institutions in the formulation of formal democratic education. Teachers can take educational and political roles outside schools only, and the growth of teachers' unions such as the HKPTU produces confrontation with the Hong Kong education system over the goal of democracy.

6.2.2 Cultural Crisis[11] in Hong Kong Music Education

6.2.2.1 Formation of new cultures

Towards the late 1980s, three major sub-cultures, "senselessness" (mo-le-tau), "degraded" cultures, and "fan of popular singers" emerged as distinct from the traditional Chinese culture in Hong Kong.[12] Yú (1980: 3) suggests

that the cultural crisis is a kind of "general phenomenon of modernisation", which can be seen in the West and the East. During the process of modernisation, the "traditional classic culture and value system" are resisted, eroded and dissolved by the "modernised force" (Yú 1980: 3; translated by Ho Wai-chung). There is no "new" and "moral" culture to substitute for the traditional culture. The 1980s culture was different from the culture of the 1950s and the 1960s which was regarded as "serious" and "moral".

6.2.2.1.1 "Senselessness" (mo-le-tau) culture

The culture of mo-le-tau has flourished and become a new culture amongst the youth since the late 1980s. The characteristics of mo-le-tau, as identified by Choi (1990: 537) and Huáng (1991: 79-80), are that it is anti-traditional, creative, non-logical, silly, and indulges in apparently meaningless jokes. This new sub-culture was promoted through popular songs, radio and television broadcasts, films, popular books and even advertisements.[13] The writer interprets this new culture as an alternative way to reflect peoples' life and ways of thinking. The "senseless" culture is a radical way to avoid the uncertain political future of Hong Kong amongst its people. Talking about the political message of Hong Kong's films, Zhāng Jiān-tín, a famous Hong Kong film director, said if producers highlight the fact in films, audience will be scared, but if they express the fact in humour, audience will accept the political messages (Lǐ 1991: 62). However, Zhèng (1994: 50) states that if the "senselessness" culture is mixed up with "low-class" jokes,

then it will lose its political meaning and the ability to reflect reality. Under these circumstances, Zhèng (ibid) describes this culture as "stuff and nonsense".

6.2.2.1.2 "D e. graded" culture

In addition to mo-le-tau culture, another "d e. graded" culture was promoted by some young people, especially by a few students from the Chinese University of Hong Kong in 1993. These students called themselves "Friends of False Culture" (Wěi Wénhuà zhī Yǒu) and described their culture as "critical" culture (*Next Magazine*, November 1993, pp.117-118). This "d e. graded" culture was highlighted in the "Opening Day" ceremony of the University in November 1993. Hú Sī-chěng, the leader of this movement, suggests that this "critical" culture cannot be done in a traditional way. He hopes that this movement may flourish by writing articles in newspapers such as "Small-Door Newspaper" (Xiǎo Mén Bào), showing films, promoting a special type of music, so as to cultivate a new culture (*Next Magazine*, November 1993, p.118).

6.2.2.1.3 Creation of "popular fan" culture

Adoring local popular singers has become a part of youth culture in Hong Kong. The promotion of popular singers is done by the music industry. According to Ariel Fung, manager of international repertoire for Sony Music International Hong Kong, "The West is already saturated" and "all the international record companies are looking at Asia as their primary

objective" (in Balfour 1993: 52). Julia Tai, who promotes local artists for Sony Music Entertainment in Hong Kong, says that they let the audience know the singer first, not his/her music (in Balfour 1993: 53) and Sony currently handles four Hong Kong artists, spending about HK$1 million (US$128,000) to launch a new artist. Half of that amount will go to advertising and promotion (ibid). EMI record company is also focusing on "building up a stable of local artists" (ibid). The record companies' promotion aims to dramatise the relations between fans and idols through the activities of fans and the production of idols' images such as posters and badges. To concentrate on the image of local singers is a means of gaining business for record companies. Wong Cheong-wing, a lecturer in the Social Work Department at the Baptist University, points out that the flourishing music business has succeeded in creating idols among the youth (*Sing Tao* Daily, January 17, 1995, p.A1). Under these circumstances, the record company "Artists Capital" has been successful in building up the status of the local singer, Leon Lai Ming, in Hong Kong popular culture as well as the music market.

The creation of idols out of popular singers has been successful and idol worship has become a youth culture among secondary school students. In 1987, the Hong Kong Catholic Social Mass Media Commission conducted a survey about the idols of teenagers among 2,010 secondary school students (F.3-5), and found out that most of the respondents had local entertainers as popular idols since their primary education. The survey also revealed that 70% of the respondents had at least one idol.[14] In 1991, the

Council of Central Youth Affairs carried out an investigation about the influence of mass media on young people and the investigation revealed that 40% of the secondary school students had idols of whom 60 % were popular singers (the other 40% were TV and film stars).[15] In the survey of "Mass Media and Youth in Hong Kong", about one third of the respondents (mainly female and younger respondents) had idols and singers were the most popular idols, accounting for 42.9% of all idols named (So & Chan 1992: 76).

Cantonese pop-artists feature as one of the cultural products that become part of the daily life of young people. In order to be recognised in their peer groups, young people must find their own idols and be loyal to them. Otherwise, young people will be ostracised by their peer groups. In this case, the youth only have to make friends with the ones who also admire the same idol but they are hostile toward their opponents adoring other idols (*Sing Tao* Daily, January 17, 1995, p.A1).[16] Lau Kin-yee, a legislator and member of the Central Anti-crime Association, realises that the fans must be self-disciplined and obey the law when supporting their idols. She also encourages music entertainers to "introduce the positive life value and the message of anti-crime to young people as a model of education" (ibid; translated by Ho Wai-chung).

6.2.2.2 Gap between cultures promoted by schools and other social agencies

The formation of new cultures has widened the cultural gap between cultures promoted by secondary schools on one hand, and other social

institutions on the other hand. Compared with Mainland China and other Asian countries, Hong Kong is unique in that there is minimal government interference in the creation, promotion, and distribution of cultural products in society. Owing to the lack of government involvement, popular culture industries are subject to the influence of market forces associated with commercial structures and interests.

As Turner points out, "Popular culture and mass media have a symbiotic relationship: each depends on the other in an intimate collaboration" (1984: 4). Popular music is one product through which the technological system brings about the popular culture industry. Chan (1993: 355) contends that the "popular industry" is closely related to "entertainment and satisfaction in social life". Technology has increased the variety, quality and sophistication of playing/recording equipment as well as the appetite for Hong Kong sourced products. According to the survey "Mass Media and Youth in Hong Kong" conducted by the Commission on Youth in 1992, there were 1,319 respondents divided into three subsamples, namely the F.1-3 students, the F.4-7 students and the working youth people (So & Chan 1992: 3). Among the respondents, the F.1-3 students are discovered to spend more time with home entertainment media in general (ibid,p.2). In the case of radio listening, three types of radio programmes most welcomed by the respondents are, in descending order: (1) song dedication and pop music programmes (54%), (2) news and weather reports (47%) and (3) D.J. talk shows (25%), and the most popular radio programme listened to by the respondents is "Chinese Pop Song Chart

(RTHK)" (So & Chan 1992: 21). The survey also reports that 81% of the respondents have video recorders or laser disc players at home and an additional 9% of those who do not have can still find a gateway to this equipment via friends (ibid, p.22).

Moreover, laser disc players have also occupied a significant slice of the market. With the increasing popularity of singing at home, about 90,000 sets of Karaoke devices including laser disc players were sold in Hong Kong in 1990 (Chan 1990: 528). According to Rita Tsang,[17] singing Karaoke is one of the dimensions of Hong Kong people's "cultural existence" (Wong 1994: 22). This indicates that the growth of Cantonese popular songs as an independent cultural product and the transmission of the mass media has made for the blossoming of Cantonese popular songs.

Primarily, the Hong Kong Chinese indigenous popular music has never been introduced into the music curriculum officially. However, Lau Ngai-man, being a music teacher in Kei San Secondary Technical School for four years, helped pupils organise a school band for popular music and let them have the "freedom and relaxation of music".[18] Lau said that he seldom taught classical music, but rather emphasised singing folk songs or the appreciation of popular music in schools. He also gave lessons to pupils on how to play drums, guitar, and electronic piano (Hé in *Ming Pao*, September 29, 1994, p.B6). Moreover, Hong Kong pop songs were boosted in secondary schools. For example, Shirley Cheung, a Hong Kong young pop singer, gave a couple of promotional performances with the release of her latest CD, *Lovers*, in secondary schools, including the La Salle College and Pui Tak

Canossian College. Cheung was also interviewed for school publications (*South China Morning Post: Young Post*, 24 February, 1995, p.12).

Choi (1991: 107) asserts that the educational system has a slow response to the demand of the recognition of localisation. Some Hong Kong musicians and educators complain that traditional Chinese music and Western music have been polluted under the threat of popular music. Some professional music scholars suggest that "popular music represents a serious and critical challenge to the healthy development of Chinese culture in general, and of Chinese music in particular" (Brace 1991: 43). They regard the influence of popular music as "the number one problem for music scholars in China today". With reference to Hong Kong music education, the cultural crisis is a prevalent issue. Music educators have failed to take a consistent stand to promote popular music to the youth.

6.2.2.3 Interactions made between popular music, students and schools

Owing to historical and traditional reasons, the content of music education in Hong Kong is restricted largely to classical and traditional folk music. The education authority does not address the Hong Kong popular culture in the Hong Kong music education system. The Hong Kong music education system suppresses popular music, rather than introduces it in the curriculum. With a view to treating popular music in the same way as classical music in the curriculum, Hong Kong music educators and sociologists need to redefine popular music's educational values and its musical meaning in an educational setting.

The institution of music education is an attempt to initiate pupils into the rituals of the state-dominated culture. Cantonese popular music knowledge that students gain from the other social agencies such as the mass media, especially television and radio, however, is not influencing the formal music activities of the classroom in terms of learning materials. The activities in school music lessons are unrelated to the outside world. Something should be done by teachers to make music education less irrelevant to the environment outside school. Music teachers have to come to realise the musical influences on students outside schools which need to be taken into account in the music teaching and learning in schools. It may be suggested that Music teachers and students are both learners in different musical perspectives.

As culture is a way of life, music education should attempt to initiate students into the vitals practices of various cultures. Although music can be produced differently by peoples and cultures, its nature is such that it can be shared, unless deliberately restricted. Sū (1994: 36) suggests that the "cultural ecology" in Hong Kong is not the old record of "Chinese city's model" or "the closed door [policy] living in our own world", rather it is the open adaptation of the main streams of the cultures of China and the West (translated by Ho Wai-chung). During this cultural interaction, a dialogue, challenge and response should be promoted (Ibid). Music can serve as a basic medium in our day-to-day social interactions, including the transmission of musical knowledge in schools. Pop music, as argued by Anthony Kemp,[19] is an essential component of "teenage culture" and one

aspect of this is the introduction of popular music in the secondary school curriculum (Chen in *Newsletter* of Hong Kong Society for Music Education, May 1989, p .2). At the same time, music teachers have to recognise their students' interests in and knowledge of the media. This is why Kushner (1991: 80) regards teaching as a "transaction" and teaching as more a matter of "negotiation than of transmission." Teachers and students are advised that they can be a partnership of equals discovering and experiencing musical knowledge within and without the scope prescribed by the colonial state. Currently, the introduction of popular music in schools is found as one of the course elements under the topic "Principles and Application of Music Education" for the BA (Hons) in music degree of the Baptist College (renamed as the Baptist University from September 1994).[20]

To sum up, music has been promoted as a cultural artefact by various social institutions during the socio-political transformation in Hong Kong. Since the late 1980s, "senseless", "degraded" and "fans of popular singers" cultures have arisen and have been seen as a threat to traditional culture. The tension between the cultural value of popular and classical music is deemed challenging to the cultural value of music education in the 1990s.

6.2.3 Music Education and Economy

6.2.3.1 The influence of business people on the development of arts education (including music education) and higher education in Hong Kong

This section describes the relations between the Hong Kong government and Hong Kong business people in the development of Hong Kong arts education and higher education. As the Hong Kong economy has improved, Hong Kong business people have increased their influence on the formation of arts policy, but not on the development of arts education in the higher education or the school sector.

This chapter argues that in Hong Kong the arts have become a commercial artefact, which has been sold by the government for private sponsorship. As a result, the administration of Hong Kong and Hong Kong business people exercised their control over the development of arts education by means of buying and selling in the production of arts in society.

The role of business people is significant in the integration of the arts with commercial business. In September 1990, the Council for Performing Arts, two Municipal Councils, together with the Hong Kong Arts Administrators Association organised a conference, entitled "Business and the Arts" to invite business sponsorship. More than 200 representatives from the arts and business sectors attended the conference and discussed how sponsorship could contribute to the promotion of the arts by adopting "commercial marketing strategies" as well as to help the arts and business sectors to "explore the mutual benefits of sponsorship" (*Arts Policy Review*

Report 1993: 47). Although there was no official record of the amount of money sponsored by the business sector, the *Arts Policy Review* (1993: 17) estimates that more than $754 million was spent by business on arts development for 1992/93. In 1992, the Hong Kong Jockey Club Music Fund[21] awarded 119 grants and 8 scholarships totalling $2,240,000 to support young people to do music and dance abroad. The Club also assisted local schools and organisations financially to equip them with musical instruments and dance facilities (Hiebert 1993: 329).[22]

However, such integration of the arts with commercial business has been objected to by other groups in Hong Kong. A movement was launched against business people and foreigners taking senior posts of the Temporary Arts Council (*Lín Yì Jú*) in August 1993 in Hong Kong (Yú in *Hong Kong Economic Journal*, August 19, 1993, p.28). The public had strong anti-commercial feelings towards the arts policy. Nevertheless, Zhèng Xīn-wén, the Chairman of Arts Administrators Association (Yìshù Xíngzhēng Rényuán Xiéhuì) recognised that the right balance should be struck between artists and non-artists to be members in the Temporary Arts Council including businessmen, arts lovers and arts administrators (ibid). The Chairman of Arts Family (Yìshù Jiā), Lǐ Jǐn-píng, also suggests that the Temporary Arts Council should be composed of business people, artists and the government to supervise each other (ibid).

Moreover, Friederichs (1992: 17) suggests that the funding for education is mainly determined by Hong Kong business people who have anticipated that higher education can meet the labour needs of the economy

of Hong Kong. At the openings of the legislative years 1988-1989 and 1989-1990, the Hong Kong Governor sketched his proposal to accelerate the expansion of higher education. This expansion was mainly aimed at science, technology, and commerce, and was intended to fill vacancies left by the emigration of professional people because of the 1997 issue.[23] According to the Personnel Management Report published by the Personnel Management Association, administrators, professionals and technicians accounted for more than 60 percent of all Hong Kong emigrants in 1989 (Yeh 1990: 108).[24] Among those emigrants in 1993, about one-third were in professional, technical, administrative and managerial occupations (*Hong Kong 1994: A Review of 1993*, p.412). As the Hong Kong economy is switching from a manufacturing orientation to emphasise finance, stock exchange and services, universities and other post-secondary institutions are not only the providers of trained personnel but also form a research base for the future (Altbach 1992: 19). Woo Chia-wei, Professor of the University of Science and Technology, said that the current Governor, Chris Patten, moved to increase the research funding by 20 percent a year which signified the expansion of Hong Kong's technology "as the only way to survive" (*South China Morning Post*, October 8, 1992). This shows the Governor's focus on research and development in the expansion of tertiary education. From 1990 to 1995, places on first-degree courses were increased from 7,000 to 15,000 (Luk 1990: 376). There would be 18 per cent of A-level students who attended local degree courses and another 7 per cent on diploma courses in 1995 (Luk 1990: 371).

Although Chris Patten (1992: 8) claims that "the brightest children must be free to excel; the less bright must be given every opportunity and support", the struggles of music education can neither provide the opportunities for the brightest students nor the less bright students in secondary and higher music education. Chiu Kit-Ying conducted a survey and found that more than 90 per cent of interviewees agreed that arts and cultural promotion in Hong Kong have to be improved and education should play a significant role (*South China Morning Post*, April 15, 1985, p.12). According to Hiebert (1993: 78), the annual intake of the three music degree granting institutions was about 65 A-level students in Hong Kong in the early 1990s: Hong Kong University, 12-15; Chinese University of Hong Kong, 17-20; and Hong Kong Baptist College, 30 (Hiebert 1993: 78). In addition, the Academy of Performing Arts (APA) awarded Bachelor of Fine Arts degrees (BFA) from September 1992 (*Sing Tao* Daily, May 5, 1993). In October 1992, 12 music students were recorded as enrolling in the first year degree course at the APA.[25] The APA is also scheduled to grant masters degrees for music in September 1996 (*Wah Kui Yat Pao*, August 16, 1994, p.7). However, the total number of graduate music students of these four institutions is expected to be about 100 by 1996. In other words, higher education in other fields, rather than music education, has been highly promoted to meet the needs of the changing society and music education is being neglected for economic reasons.

6.2.3.2 Struggles between market forces and music education: music education, music business and examination

This section describes the conflicts between two examination authorities, the public examinations initiated by the Hong Kong government and examinations held by the Associated Board of the Royal School of Music (ABRSM) in the United Kingdom. This section argues that music education is institutionalised under the bureaucratic state in Hong Kong and that it has been inflated by the growth of independent private instrumental teachers and music businesses run by private enterprises.

Compared with other subjects, there are proportionally fewer candidates sitting for music examinations at Certificate of Education level as well as the Advanced Level. These two levels of assessments are used as enrolment qualifications for further music education, such as reaching the entry requirement of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, the Hong Kong University, the Hong Kong Baptist University, and the Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts (APA). Although music is offered in Forms 1-3 (Age 12-15) in most schools, students have less opportunities to further their music studies leading to the HKCEE. The candidates for the A-level music examination constitute less than 10% of the HKCEE candidates in music (Hiebert 1993: 78).[26] For example, in 1992, there were 182 music candidates out of 128,457 candidates for the HKCEE, but only 13 music candidates for the Hong Kong Advanced Level Examination (HKAL) out of 16,879.[27] In the 1994 HKCEE, 18 out of the total 188 music candidates[28] took the practical test (Paper 1) but the general standard of the pianists for this test was not entirely satisfactory; whilst only one candidate took Paper 3 (Chinese music) and the overall performance was regarded as rather poor

in this paper.[29] In the 1994 Hong Kong A-level Examination, eight candidates (two males, six females) participated in the music subject. Not a single pupil achieved Grade A in music. Music was categorised as one of the subjects which were considered as having no Grade A in the examination.[30] However, the passing percentage of the 1994 A-Level music examination was 100% (*1994 HKALE Annual Report*, p.488). The passing rate of 1995 Hong Kong A-level music examination was also 100% (*Fai Pao*, July 9, 1995). This small amount of examination candidates reflects the fact that music training by schools has been underpromoted. Music education has been underdeveloped and is not encouraged by schools.

In contrast to schools, there is a considerable and increasing growth of private sector music lessons, particularly piano, provided by other social agencies. The Tom Lee Piano Company and Tsang Fook Piano Company offer a wide range of music courses for beginners as well as intermediate students. The former has an organised teaching system promoted by Yamaha and its courses include the teaching of piano, drums, guitar; and it has areas covering the teaching of jazz, and other wind ensembles such as recorder. Owing to their tuition fees being affordable to parents, these music centres have attracted a lot of students. These music businesses also attract a lot of customers to buy musical instruments.

Unlike music examinations held by the Hong Kong Examination Authority (HKEA), the ABRSM has attracted more students to take its examination every year. In 1990, 2,652 candidates took the Grade 8 examination of ABRSM in piano and 260 people for other instruments.[31]

The examinations of the ABRSM have become popular through the increasing support of parents, independent music teachers, and music companies such as the Tom Lee Music Centre and the Kawai Music Centre run by the Tom Lee Piano Company and Tsang Fook Piano Company respectively. Other social institutions such as the Hong Kong International Music School (Xiānggǒng Guójì Yīnyuè Xuéxiào) also promote short courses for people taking ABRSM. For example, the International Music School provides summer courses for aural tests and musical theory for people taking the ABRSM in Grade 5 and Grade 8 (see advertisement in *Breakthrough*, Vol.235, June 1994, p.30). Hiebert (1993: 81) notes that the "RSM stimulus is important to Hong Kong culture as it encourages people to learn an instrument". As also pointed out by Hiebert (1993: 81), "most RSM activity is a single-minded preparation of a few compositions to perform for a specific examination", therefore it cannot be considered as a "replacement for music education" in school.

Despite this limitation, the ABRSM began to replace the role of public examinations as criterion for entry into tertiary and higher institutions. As there are only a small number of places for students taking the public examinations held by the HKEA, the qualification of the ABRSM can be treated as equivalent to the O-level and A-level music examinations. Students can obtain certificates of passing the examinations of the ABRSM which takes priority as part of the qualifications for students to enter the Universities and the APA.[32] Secondary music education seems to fail to educate students to be a good audience as well as to prepare them for

higher music education.

6.2.3.3 The low economic status of secondary music education

6.2.3.3.1 The low level of funding in secondary schools

Public expenditure in Hong Kong includes a comparatively low level of funding for secondary education. According to Cheng Kai-ming (1993: 154), public educational expenditure as a percentage of Gross National Product (GNP) or Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and public educational expenditure as a percentage of total public expenditure are used to compare educational finance internationally. The former can be used to compare the relationship of education and the wealth of the country across governments. The latter symbolises the relationship of the government and education in terms of finance, and is used to compare across sectors within a government budget (Cheng 1993: 154).

During the last two decades, Hong Kong's public educational expenditure was above 14 per cent of total public expenditure but Hong Kong's public educational expenditure has usually been below 3 per cent of the GNP (Cheng 1993: 47). Comparatively, the percentage of GNP allocated to Hong Kong education was relatively low by international standards (see Figure 6.4):

Figure 6.4 International Summary of Public Expenditure in Education as Percentage of GNP

	1980	1985	1990
Africa	5.3	5.8	6.1
Asia	4.5	4.3	4.1
Europe	5.5	5.5	5.3
North America	5.2	5.1	5.5
Oceania	5.6	5.6	5.4

Latin America/Caribbean	4.1	4.1	4.0
Developing countries	3.9	4.0	3.9
Developed countries	5.4	5.3	5.2
World total	5.1	5.0	5.0

Source: UNESCO (1992), cited by Cheng (1993: 156)

Yee (1992: 288) states that 17.2 % of the annual government budget was allocated to education in 1988, but it was cut down to 16.6% in 1989. Education was expected to account for 16.5 per cent of total public expenditure in 1994 but the rate of real increase has dropped to 6.1 per cent in 1994 from 7.6 per cent in 1993 (Cheung & Chow in *South China Morning Post*, March 3 1994). Moreover, the expenditure on each secondary school student was only of the order of one-tenth of spending on each university student (Cheng 1993: 159). Cheng (1993: 160) criticises the fact that the pattern of Hong Kong educational system is for "providing very expensive higher education but cheap basic education".

The shortage of finance and lack of Government support towards cultural subjects were main reasons for the under-development of arts education in secondary school (*Music and Art Bimonthly* 1985: 37). In February 1985, the *Music and Art Bimonthly* carried some research about the attitudes of secondary schools towards music education. Questionnaires were sent to 143 secondary schools (8 government schools; 117 government aided schools and 17 private schools).[33] The government aided schools represented a high proportion (82.4%) in the research. There were 129 out of 143 secondary schools having music lessons. Among the 17 private secondary schools, 4 schools did not offer cultural subjects (including music).

The survey showed that the provision of musical facilities and activities in government aided schools was better than in the private schools. Hosier (1993: 62) notes that music lessons were made available in 394 out of 441 secondary schools in 1990/91. Law (1991: 148) also notes that there are only a handful of schools having a comprehensive music programme. Although the Council for Performing Arts is aware of the importance of arts development in the school curriculum, it has "no brief to fund the arts in education" (Gwilt 1992: 9). Yip Wei-hong suggests that the Government should have a plan of action in considering the role of music education, taking into account the ratio of government expenditure, so as to facilitate more resources in music education (*Dai Kung Pao*, April 13, 1991).

6.2.3.3.2 Lack of applicants for non-degree teacher training: the low socio-economic status of non-degree music teachers

Secondary music education in Hong Kong suffers a shortage of music teachers. The lack of applicants for non-degree teacher training was made more serious when higher education was expanded in the early 1990s. Secondary school graduates had low intention to study in colleges of education because these colleges did not offer degrees and had lower social status as compared with other higher education institutions.

The colleges of education were usually students' last choices and the entry requirements were comparatively low. The University of Hong Kong and the Chinese University of Hong Kong are the most prestigious universities and attract the most students. As compared with other higher institutions for music study, the colleges of education require lower entry

qualifications.[34] Regardless of the relatively low entry requirements of the colleges of education, the number of applicants dropped towards the end of the 1980s. According to Jiàn (1993: 221), the number of applicants decreased from 10,000 in the middle of the 1980s to just over 4,000 during the years 1988 and 1989 . In 1992, there were only enough music students for one college for admission to a two-year course instead of the usual three (Ng in *South China Morning Post*, April 13, 1993).

The shortage of qualified music teachers is one of the greatest challenges facing the development of Hong Kong music education. According to the Education Department, there were vacancies for teaching music and physical education in government schools in the new academic year of 1989 (*Wah Kiu Yat Pao*, September 1989). Jiàn (1993: 220) states that there has been a serious shortage of teachers since 1987 (without mentioning whether primary or secondary schools), especially in the areas of language, physical education, home economics and music. Owing to the different schools' policies and background, there are no adequate music teachers in Hong Kong. Some students, despite their interests in music, receive no good musical training in schools (*Ming Pao*, June 11, 1993, p.10).

With regard to the staffing policy of secondary schools, the colleges of education were the major training centres of non-graduate music teachers.[35] For government and aided secondary schools, the staffing policy suggests that only 70 per cent of secondary school teachers are university graduates with a degree, and the other 30 per cent are non-graduate teachers trained by colleges of education (Cheng 1993: 163). In 1988 two-

thirds of the nearly 20,000 teachers were degree-holders in secondary schools; and the rest were certificated teachers from the colleges of education who were employed to teach mainly in junior secondary classes (Luk 1990: 379). In the case of music teaching, there have been more non-graduate music teachers than graduate music teachers in secondary schools. According to the survey conducted by the Department of Music and Fine Arts of Hong Kong Baptist College in early 1986, the formal music background of the music teacher population in the schools was not strong; there were 113 graduate music teachers, 271 non-graduates with some Music electives, 56 non graduates without Music electives and 26 permitted music teachers in secondary schools (Hiebert 1993: 79).[36] According to *Hong Kong Economic Journal* (September 28, 1994), most secondary schools only employed non-graduate music teachers, rather than graduate music teachers and only a few schools were willing to run music lessons for senior secondary forms' students. In my survey conducted in 1994 and 1995, 36 out of 60 music teachers were degree holders but 14 of these 36 respondents did not receive music education for their degrees. Moreover, 14 out of 60 music teachers taught both junior and senior forms; while the rest taught junior forms only.

Yip Wei-hong claimed that the training of music teachers was highly reliant on the provision of the three colleges of education to improve the qualifications of music teachers in primary and secondary schools (*Dai Kung Pao*, April 13, 1991). According to the *South China Morning Post* (September 22, 1991), upgrading the colleges of education to degree-

awarding institutions was suggested. In order to upgrade the social status of colleges of education, four colleges of education and the Institute of Language in Education (ILE) were integrated to form the Hong Kong Institute of Education (HKIE) in 1994. Whether the upgrading of teacher training will improve the social status of teachers remains to be seen.

6.2.3.4 The change of the music curriculum of higher education

The provision for secondary music teachers is further limited by the diversification of the curriculum content of higher music institutions. In order to enable graduate students to have more choices in finding their future careers, the curriculum content of higher music institutions has changed and this affects the provision of music education for secondary schools to some extent.

Rayson Huang, the former vice-chancellor of the Hong Kong University, believes that Hong Kong should diversify tertiary music institutions to deal with different affairs. For example, the Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts (APA) is a music conservatory and the music department of a university has to work for musicology, and general music education and keep a place for research (*Newsletter* of the HKSME, May 1989, P.2). Yip, however, recognises that the Baptist College emphasised the field of music education in the past but changed its curriculum content to provide more music technicians than before in the areas of computerised composition and professional film music production, so that music students could find jobs in television and radio companies (*Dai Kung Pao*, April 13,

1991). At the Hong Kong Chinese University, the Music Department emphasises every aspect of potential music training (Ibid). At the Hong Kong University, music is only an elective subject and students can have different majors, including music. Therefore, students are more flexible in choosing their careers. Most graduates of the HKAPA, worked for the Hong Kong symphony orchestras as their careers (Ibid). However, Hiebert (1993: 79) notes that the APA degree course would provide qualified music teachers in 1995.[37]

6.2.3.5 The Emphasis on the development of performing arts in Hong Kong music education

This section argues that the economic investment in music education is mainly placed on performing arts. The value orientation of music education in Hong Kong is built on competition so as to encourage an individual's or a group's prize-winning in performing, as well as to train students in improving the quality of Hong Kong's own performers.

Two infrastructual indicators are used to show the investment in music education in secondary school. These indicators are: (1) the promotion of musical extra-curricular activities in respect of performance; and (2) establishment of music institutes for performing arts.

6.2.3.5.1 The promotion of musical extra-curricular activities

Extra-curricular activities are encouraged by the Education Department to widen students' musical horizons with a diverse range of musical experiences, and to supplement music lessons in Hong Kong secondary

schools. These activities include school choirs, instrumental classes, instrumental ensembles, recorder groups, school bands/orchestras.[38] Although the aim of music education should be based on a programme of musical experiences through creative and performing activities, these extra-curricular activities are conducted mainly for performing purposes.[39]

Most of these activities involve performing activities in both school-based and inter-school activities. Among the inter-school activities, the annual Hong Kong Schools Music Festival (HKSMF) has been the most popular. In 1986, there were 56,000 students participating in 278 programmes including Western and Chinese solo instruments, group ensembles, orchestras, vocal solo and choirs in the Festival but there were only 36 programmes involving Chinese music (Chow 1986: 38). The number of participants for the Festival was increased by 3% from 64,000 in 1990 to 66,000 in 1991 (*Wah Kiu Yat Po*, February 24, 1991). The large number of participants in the HKSMF did not really reflect a high quality of music education in Hong Kong. Anne Boyd criticised the Hong Kong music education system by making a comparison between the number of students taking the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination (HKCEE) and HKSMF. In her survey, Boyd demonstrated that 94 secondary schools took part in the HKSMF and only 12 out of these 94 schools provided music lessons for students to sit for the HKCEE and these 12 schools did not include any famous schools. Boyd recognised that famous schools in Hong Kong were only eager to get fame in the HKSMF and music was regarded as a practical and entertaining subject (*United Music*, April

1988, p.10). In my survey, 43 out of 60 secondary schools (i.e. nearly 72% of the total) took part in the 1995 HKSMF. The support of the HKSMF also comes from the government radio programme. For example, the music education programme "1815 Fantasia" (Yībā Yīwǔ Suíxiǎngqū) ran a special broadcast for the HKSMF on Hong Kong Radio 4 for four consecutive Sundays in April 1995. This programme featured the sharing and feelings of the winners, as well as recordings of the performances of the best winners in the 1995 HKSMF (*Ming Pao*, April 7, 1995, p.B6).

The HKSMF not only has a great influence on extra-curricular activities in Hong Kong music education, but also on formal education in schools. According to Benson Chao, Eve Ngan Kwai-ling,[40] a Form 7 Social Science student, had to skip lessons from time to time to cater for her tight schedule for better performance in the HKSMF (*South China Morning Post:Young Post*, January 17, 1995, p.35). Music education appears to be a by-product, rather than a principal goal, for many schools (including schools principals, music teachers and students) which cling to contest outcomes aiming for school status or material rewards. Music education seems to be an endless succession of competitive contests.

Most people agree that the Hong Kong Government emphasises performing arts (*Music and Art Bimonthly* 1985: 31). According to the research conducted among 142 secondary schools by the *Music and Art Bimonthly* (1985: 34), all of them had interest groups for extra-curricular activities, such as choir, instrumental club, drama, dance, photography. For instrumental teaching, guitar and recorder playing were core activities.

Most music teachers were responsible for extra-curricular activities, 34.51% of these 142 schools also employed other musicians to come to schools for their extra-curricular activities. In my survey 35 out of 60 schools employed part-time music teaching staff (e.g. instrumental tutors) and 3 schools had more than 10 instrumental tutors in their schools. Even outside the school environment, Lǐ Mò notes that "the Hong Kong Government accentuated performing arts in the implementation of arts policies, especially the entertaining performing programmes." She also shows that "the level of arts and academic studies has [been] neglected" (Zhāng in *Ming Pao*, June 10, 1994, p.D13; translated by Ho Wai-chung). This is why Chan Wing-wah points out that the *Arts Policy Review Report* (1993) is not correct to embed both primary and secondary music education into performing arts (*Ming Pao*, June 4, 1993, p.35). To fight against this trend, Chan argues that primary and secondary music education is for the promotion of musical appreciation and musical activities, such as choral training, instrumental training and musical drama (ibid). The context of music education should be varied in its activities and should not over-emphasise performance through extra-curricular activities.

Moreover, other governmental departments also commit themselves to the development of the performing arts, so as to improve the quality of Hong Kong students in performing. For example, the Music Office has been providing instrumental training (other than piano) in Western and Chinese music for up to 4,000 young people and organises the "Music for Millions" programme.[41] According to the *Arts Policy Review Report* (1993: 29-30), the

Music Office also organised international youth music exchange programmes. There are about 10 to 20 youth music groups that come to Hong Kong from overseas each year and local youth music groups are sent overseas for music exchange, too. During the summer vacation in 1988, more than 300 students, aged 8 to 23, enrolled in the Hong Kong Youth Music Camp organised by the Music Office (Kwan in *Newsletter* of the Hong Kong Society for Music Education, September 1988, P.6). In 1991, the number of participants increased to more than 400, joining the "Hong Kong Youth Music Camp" to develop skills in interpreting and performing music under training by guest conductors who came from the United States of America, mainland China and Hong Kong (*Si Pao*, July 29, 1991). The Youth Music Camp has been regarded as one of the most successful music education programmes in Hong Kong. The Seeding Grant awarded to the Hong Kong Sinfonietta is also an important movement in the foundation for the performing arts in Hong Kong (Hosier 1993: 40). Outside the government organisations, the Junior Department of the Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts (APA) also takes part in training young gifted pupils in performing arts. For instance, the talented 12-year-old Alexander Wong See-hang who won the senior oboe section, the vocal solo for boys under 12, and came second in the junior piano solo of the 1995 Hong Kong Music Festival is a part-time APA student (*South China Morning Post: Young Post*, March 10, 1995, p.3). The talented 10-year-old Frank Yang Tai-choi, the True Light Middle School primary pupil, who won the piano solo in the Advanced Class Section of the 1995 School Music Festival, also takes

part-time lessons at the APA over the weekends (*South China Morning Post: Young Post*, March 2, 1995, p.3). The perception of the organisation of performing activities is to nurture a supply of potential professionals and audiences.

Comparatively, the Schools Creative Music Project sponsored by the Council for the Performing Arts, Composers and Authors Society of Hong Kong (CASH) and the Hong Kong Composers Guild (HKCG) was the only creative project with educational support. In this project, composers go into schools and work with teachers to help students develop their aesthetic qualities and the inspiration of creativity.

6.2.3.5.2 The establishment of music institutes for performing arts

After the establishment of a secondary school for physical education in 1990, it was proposed to set up a music institute to provide secondary students with earlier opportunities to develop their performing potential. The aim of setting up a special secondary school for music and dance is to train special talents in music and dance at school age.

The advisers of the Council for Performing Arts suggest that setting up this special secondary music can "reconcile the needs of young musicians and dancers in training with the academic requirements of a secondary school syllabus" (in Hosier 1993: 64). Hé (1991: 122) notes that this suggestion will "bring prosperity to the future development of cultural [arts] and aesthetic education". Hé suggests, "this proposal is also good for the Hong Kong Academy" (1991: 122, translated by Ho Wai-chung). If this

secondary school for performing arts can be connected with the Hong Kong Academy to share its facilities, the resources of the Hong Kong Academy can be fully utilized (ibid). Hence, Hong Kong should foresee a secondary school for performing arts which can have linkage to the Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts. However, Hong Kong music education is, as described by Law Ping-leung, a music lecturer at the Hong Kong Chinese University, a "desperate enterprise" because secondary music lessons might be canceled from the general school timetable if a music secondary school were to specialise in musically gifted pupils (*Hong Kong Economic Journal* September 23, 1989). The Government accepted the arguments for a special school for music in principle, but encouraged the private sector to sponsor it (Hosier 1993: 65). However, the Royal Hong Kong Jockey Club, a major organisation which could offer the funding, turned down the proposal (ibid).

Presently, the Hong Kong Arts Development Council (HKADC) has proposed its *Five-Year Strategic Plan* (1995) on arts development (including music) for the period 1996-2001 and emphasied "One Art for Life" (Yīshēn Yīyìshù) which is the concept of cumulative arts education in addition to a general arts education in schools. Chan Wing-wah, member of the Council, says that the Council has discussed the policy of "One Art for Life" which can be planned for pupils studying from primary to junior secondary education (i.e. Forms 1-3). Under this policy, pupils can contact different arts areas such as music, dance, literary and visual arts. For pupils studying senior secondary education (i.e. Forms 4-7), they can choose any one of the arts subjects to study (*Sing Tao* Daily, August 1, 1995, p.A11).

Chan Wing-wah also notes that the Council would discuss with the Hong Kong Education Commission and Hong Kong Education Department how to implement the concept of "One Art for Life" in the formal education system (ibid). Whether the concept of "One Art for Life" can make more provision of music education for primary and secondary schools' pupils remains to be seen.

To sum up, this chapter highlights the dilemmas of the development of Hong Kong music education in "five-paired" relationships in the 1990s (1) between Hong Kong business people and the government in relation to policies in the development of arts education (including music education) and higher education; (2) between the two examination bodies conducted by the Hong Kong Education Department and the Associated Board of the Royal School of Music (ABRSM); (3) between the economic status of secondary music education and other educational areas in respect of the allocation of funding and resources; (4) between struggles for the curricular content of higher music institutions for providing music teachers and other music professionals such as music technicians; and (5) between the development of performing arts and formal music education within and outside the school environment.

6.3 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This chapter describes the broader political, cultural, and economic context in which music education developed after the political events of the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident. It continues to argue that relatively fewer

changes are made in the curriculum of music education than in the political, cultural and economic structures which have been influenced by the impending return of Hong Kong' sovereignty to China.

In this chapter, the dilemmas of Hong Kong music education are described in terms of socio-political, cultural and economic perspectives. From the socio-political perspective, other social institutions such as the HKPTU and the HKASPDMC are more open than the formal Hong Kong music education system to introduce democratic education to students through music. The HKPTU as a non-state agency played an important role in the introduction of the concepts and activities of democracy to students. The growth of teachers' unions challenges the authority of the Hong Kong education system over the goal of democracy. The promotion of culture in schools and culture outside schools has caused tensions in the transmission of musical knowledge in schools. Hong Kong culture has been in a state of continuing flux, crisis and confusion. Music education cannot take place outside the context of social change. From the economic and educational perspectives, the call for quality improvement in music education focuses on the economic investment in secondary education, the social status of teachers as well as the diversification of music activities which have placed too much emphasis on performing arts through extra-curricular activities in schools and the music activities promoted by other official bodies. Comparatively, the informal provision of performance skills in music education was more developed than formal music education.

In the next chapter, the writer of the thesis will continue to explore

the dilemmas of Hong Kong music education with reference to the questionnaire-survey to Hong Kong music teachers conducted in October 1994 and February 1995 respectively. The opinions and views of Hong Kong secondary schools' music teachers on different musical styles such as Western classical music, Chinese classical music, contemporary Hong Kong serious music, folk music, other world music, as well as popular music will be described. The data of the survey is intended to describe the existing nature and content of the Hong Kong music education system, and to examine and identify the arguments of the thesis. In particular, the tension relating to the promotion and preservation of cultural identity arising from the introduction of Chinese classical music, contemporary Hong Kong serious music and Chinese and Hong Kong popular music will be highlighted.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE ANALYSIS OF MUSICAL KNOWLEDGE IN HONG KONG SECONDARY SCHOOLS

7.1 PURPOSE

This chapter presents the findings of the pilot test and main investigation which were in the form of a questionnaire-survey undertaken in October 1994 and February 1995 respectively. The major objectives of this study are: (1) to map out music teachers' preferences and opinions about Hong Kong music education; (2) to identify the control of the state over Hong Kong music education; and (3) to highlight the dilemmas of Hong Kong music education during the transitional period between 1994 and 1997.

7.2 CONTENT OF THE ANALYSIS

Fifty-nine full-time and one part-time music teachers were respondents to the questionnaires including the pilot test and main survey. For the pilot test, ten Hong Kong Government aided secondary schools were engaged in the inquiry and are numbered from School 1 to School 10 accordingly. For the main survey, questionnaires were sent to two hundred and ten Hong Kong secondary schools (about 50% of the total) and forty-nine of them (from two government secondary schools, two Direct Subsidy Scheme schools, four private schools, and 41 government aided schools) were returned by May 1995. Questionnaire of School 60 (a government aided school) was returned by the end of June 1995. These fifty schools are numbered from School 11 to School 60.

These sixty grammar schools[42] were located in three different regions of Hong Kong: thirty in the New Territories; sixteen in Kowloon; fourteen on the Hong Kong Island. Forty-eight of the music teachers were Chairpersons of their respective music departments and the further twelve were panel members (schools 6, 9, 15, 25, 29, 32, 33, 39, 47, 54, 55, and 57) in their schools. Four of them were both music degree and music certificate holders (Schools 1, 6, 35 and 58). Thirty-two respondents were music degree holders but fourteen out of these thirty-two respondents (of schools 7, 12, 15, 18, 25, 26, 28, 31, 41, 42, 44, 48, 54 and 57) did not receive any training in music education for their degree. Twenty-two out of the sixty were certificate holders (the ones in schools 30, 38 and 51 did not receive training in music education for their certificates). Two music teachers (of schools 32 and 55) did not indicate their qualifications. Sixteen Teachers (schools 1, 2, 3, 7, 11, 13, 16, 17, 23, 24, 36, 45, 52, 53, 59 and 60) taught both junior and senior forms; while the rest taught junior forms only. The teacher of School 55 did not state in which forms she taught music.

There are only slight differences in the content and structure of the questionnaires between the pilot test and main inquiry. The identification of the distribution of student banding was introduced in the main survey in order to have the data of my research disseminated in various bandings of Hong Kong secondary schools. It was found by the main survey that 7 schools (nos. 11, 12, 17, 30, 46, 51 and 56) were allocated for Band 1 students, 4 schools (nos.21, 38, 44, and 53) were assigned to Band 5 students, and the rest of the schools had various bandings.[43] The wording

of "teaching creative and/or avant-garde music" of Question 15 in the pilot test was changed into "using creative teaching techniques" of Question 16 in the main survey because a few teachers did not understand the term "avant-garde" music in the pilot test.

In the pilot and main surveys, the questionnaires were divided into two parts: (1) basic data concerning the music teachers and their schools; and (2) the teachers' opinions on music education in their schools. Besides asking teachers to write down information about themselves and their schools, two sorts of questions are formulated in the survey: one is a standardised set of closed questions in which the respondents only answer "YES" or "NO" by mainly ticking boxes; another type of questioning is open-ended, giving opportunities for respondents to express their ideas, views and opinions about Hong Kong music education in their own words. For each question, respondents were also asked to give reasons and spaces were provided for their further opinions. Twenty-three questions were set: 6 questions (Questions 1-6) concerning the biographical data of the respondents, and 17 questions (Questions 7-23) dealing with their opinions on music education in their schools (see Appendix Eight). Twelve of these 17 questions about musical preferences related to respondents' opinions and views on Hong Kong music education. The interpretive questions are as follows:

(1)	Question 7:	Do you teach Western "classical" music?
(2)	Question 8:	Do you teach Chinese "classical" music?
(3)	Question 9:	Do you teach in your school "serious" music written by Hong Kong composers?
(4)	Question 10:	Do you teach Western "folk" music in your school?

(5) Question 11: Do you teach Chinese "folk" music in your school?
(6) Question 12: Do you teach Western "popular" music in your school?
(7) Question 13: Do you teach Chinese "popular" music from Mainland China in your school?
(8) Question 14: Do you teach local Hong Kong "popular" music in your school?
(9) Question 16 for pilot test and Question 15 for main survey: Do you teach any music from around the world (excluding Mainland China and Western Europe as mentioned in previous questions)?
(10) Question 15: Do you teach "creative" and/or "avant-garde" music in your school? (Pilot test)
Question 16: Do you use creative teaching techniques e.g. composition, improvisation, etc. in your teaching? (Main survey)
(11) Question 17: Do/Did you have any training (including self-studies) for teaching popular music?
(12) Question 18: Do you think that the promotion of Chinese democratic popular songs (with lyrics embedded with messages promoting the concepts of political pluralism and/or advocating political freedom) should be a part of civic education in your school?

The writer will categorise these interpretive questions into six special modules as follows:

(1) classical music (including Western "classical" music, Chinese "classical" music and Hong Kong "serious" music, Questions 7-9);
(2) folk music (including Western and Chinese "folk" music, Questions 10-11);
(3) popular music (including "popular" music from the West, Mainland China and Hong Kong, Questions 12-14 and the training in teaching popular music, Question 17);
(4) other world music (excluding Mainland China and Western Europe), (Question 16 in pilot test and Question 15 in main survey;
(5) "creative" music (Question 15 for pilot test and Question 16 for main survey);
(6) promotion of civic education through Chinese democratic popular songs in schools (Question 18).

Firstly, such categorisation is expected to identify teachers' comparative views of the musical styles of Western, Chinese and Hong Kong "classical"

music, of Western and Chinese folk music, of "classical" and "popular" music. Secondly, the introduction of other world music (apart from Chinese and Western European music) in the Hong Kong music curriculum will be discussed. Thirdly, the promotion of "creative" teaching techniques will be described in Hong Kong formal music education. Finally, teachers' opinion on the advocation of democratic Chinese "popular" songs will be highlighted during the transitional period of Hong Kong.

During the analysis of the sixty questionnaires in this chapter, I have not intended to describe the feelings of the music teachers, to clarify their attitudes or position in the teaching profession, or to criticise any citations from teachers' answers of what they did and what they thought. However, I have thrown light on the respondents' answers with reference to the relationship between the musical content and the politics of Hong Kong music education. I have not altered any wording of the opinions expressed by the respondents. The answers of the respondents will be quoted verbatim (with only corrections to spellings) and the citations of the answers will be analysed in this chapter. For details of teachers who have responded to this enquiry, please refer to the bar charts in Appendices Nine and Ten.

I was also interested in finding out the role of traditional Western and Chinese music, Hong Kong serious music and popular music in the curricula of the higher education institutions. This is to ascertain whether the musical styles promoted in secondary schools have a connection with higher music education institutions in Hong Kong. Thus the chapter covers my interview with Mrs. Jane Cheung, Head of Fine Arts Department of the

Hong Kong Institute of Education,[44] who gave some general comments about the musical styles in the music curriculum of the Institute. Mrs. Cheung's general comments will be included later in this chapter. In October 1995, I sent questionnaires (see Appendix Eleven) to four heads of music in the higher education institutions in Hong Kong. Two of these four questionnaires (one from the Hong Kong Chinese University and one from the Hong Kong University) were returned by November 1995. These two institutions did not run courses in music education but the views of these two heads of music on musical styles will be expounded later in this chapter.

In the analysis of the questionnaires, this chapter makes reference to Lucy Green (1984) in her 1983 survey of comprehensive-school music teachers' collective views and values about music, musical values and education. This was carried out before the general implementation of GCSE in Britain in 1986.

7.3 CLASSICAL MUSIC

7.3.1 Western Classical Music

As has been explained in Chapter two, as a British colony for over one and a half centuries, Hong Kong has been profoundly influenced by Western culture. The spread of Western musical traits in Hong Kong began with the army and missionaries of Western countries. Since Hong Kong entered its colonised period, a Western model of music education has been adopted in Hong Kong secondary schools. The masterworks of traditional Western

music are introduced through singing, listening and performing in formal classroom education and extra-curricular activities. The inclusion of Western "classical" music into the formal curriculum of Hong Kong schools does not raise any questions and the Education Department has not offered any justification for the incorporation of Western "classical" music.

7.3.1.1 Reasons for the importance of Western classical music in schools

In the survey, Western "classical" music was regarded as a compulsory music study in schools. Fifty-eight, out of the total sixty, music teachers said that they taught Western "classical" music, but the other two (Schools 18 and 32) did not give reasons why they did not teach Western classical music. In this section, I am going to explore the reasons for the prominent role of Western classical music in the Hong Kong music curriculum.

7.3.1.1.1 Policies of the Hong Kong State

The official musical knowledge for secondary schools is outlined by the devised syllabuses, transmitted through officially approved music textbooks. Music teachers are implied to be followers of teaching Western classical music. Teachers of Schools 6, 13, 14, 30, 37, 38, 48, 53, 55 and 58 said that they taught Western classical music in accordance with the syllabus suggested by the Education Department. School 15 said that Western classical music was "a part of the textbooks". The transmission of musical knowledge in schools centres around what is included in the syllabuses and the approved music textbooks. Teachers are entrusted with the

responsibility of passing on the "high art" of Western classical music to their pupils.

7.3.1.1.2 Teachers' musical background

Teachers were educated in Western classical music and this kind of training provided them with an essential understanding of this knowledge. The teacher of School 12 emphasised that she was trained in Western classical music. The teacher of School 17 noted that her main training was Western classical music, so that she preferred to "put greater effort in teaching Western music" and the teacher of School 23 asserted that she was "brought up with the background" of Western classical music. The teacher of School 49 remarked that he taught Western classical music because he was familiar with it.

7.3.1.1.3 Musical values of Western classical music

7.3.1.1.3.1 Teaching technical musical meaning

Some teachers were keen on teaching Western classical music because of its standard notation and organised system. Owing to the organised Western musical system such as the standard scale, standard pitch, standard instruments, Western "classical" music was deemed to be the most systematic music and the main source of musical knowledge by some respondents.

Question 7: Western classical music
School 36: It's a traditional and fundamental knowledge.
School 43: Systematic.
School 48: Necessary material for formal music teaching.

Some teachers contended that the learning of Western music could enrich their students' musical knowledge, to help them appreciate and understand its richness and diversity.

Question 7: Western classical music

School 1: ..... to give students a brief idea of music history and classical music which may then arouse their interest toward musical studies.

School 6: ..... broaden the musical horizon of the students;..... and introduce [them] to Western musical instruments.

School 26: ..... let students to know about [Western classical music].

School 44: ..... have some general ideas and comprehensive knowledge of Western "classical" music.

School 51: [To introduce] a greater variety of musical knowledge, e.g. forms, musical instruments.

School 60: .....the basic musical knowledge.....a better understanding of various musical elements.

As viewed by the above respondents, the study of Western classical music in schools was believed to help students understand the development of Western music history, the types of musical forms and musical instruments, as well as assisting in the cultivation of music appreciation of Western classical music. Western classical music was highly recognised by some teachers in the curriculum as the basic musical study of technical musical meaning. This type of technical musical meanings was based on the intellectual concepts of Western classical music.

7.3.1.1.3.2 *Teaching delineated musical meaning*

Other teachers' personal preference for the musical values of Western classical music was associated with delineated musical meaning. To some music teachers, Western classical music was a richly articulated form of communication, rather than a form of musical knowledge. Some teachers

believed that pupils had more associations with Western music than other kinds of music in their daily life. The meanings of Western classical music were seen as being embodied in its style, content and presentation.

Question 7: Western classical music
School 6: .....related to our daily life such as the background music of advertisement.....
School 9: ..... there are a lot of varieties in the style, content and presentation. Western music is still dominating nowadays [and] students have more contact with Western music actually.....

7.3.1.1.3.3 Distinctions made between Western classical music and popular music

Some teachers introduced Western classical music in order to make a comparison between classical and popular music. They suggested that their pupils should perpetuate the culture of European "serious" music in order to make the difference between Western "classical" music and "popular" music or trace the musical significance of popular music.

Question 7: Western classical music
School 6: .....to show the difference between pop music.....
School 9: ....pop songs are also composed [according to] Western methods.....

One music teacher noted that the study of classical music was a protection against the influence of popular music on students. A clear distinction was made between Western classical music and popular music.

Question 7: Western classical music
School 8: ..... enable students to contact classical music other than "pop", knowledge of classical music and composers (and their works), and learn the attitude of music appreciation.

The teacher insisted on the rigid separation of "classical" music from

"popular" music. As Western "classical" music was subject to the pressures of the popular culture industry, the teacher had to guard against the "musical pollution" of popular music by keeping Western "classical" music in the curriculum.

In summary, as revealed by the survey, factors affecting the prominent role of Western classical music in formal Hong Kong music education are described as follows: (1) the influence of the Hong Kong government over the content of musical knowledge in schools; (2) teachers' musical background and (3) teachers' personal preferences in articulating the values of Western classical music.

7.3.2 Chinese Classical Music

Although both Western and Chinese "classical" music are suggested in the syllabuses[45], the musical value of Chinese classical music has not been as highly regarded as Western classical music in formal teaching in the survey (see the comparative chart in Appendix Nine). Compared to Western "classical" music, Chinese "classical" music was not as popular in schools. In the survey, thirty-seven out of the sixty music teachers taught Chinese "classical" music in schools and the respondent of School 19 did not answer "Yes" or "No" to Question 8 (Chinese classical music), but she put that "very little" Chinese music was taught in school. Although the respondent of School 56 had Chinese music in school, she noted that "not much" Chinese music was taught.

7.3.2.1 Reasons that Chinese classical music was not important in schools

Despite the incorporation of Chinese music in the curriculum, some music teachers admitted that they and their students had no or little interest in it and the learning of Chinese music was quite superficial.

Question 8: Chinese classical music
School 2: Just a little bit, for both the teachers and the students have little interest, especially the students.
School 13: No interest....
School 19: I see no future in [Chinese music] and it is not international. Personally I dislike.
School 26: We are not interested.

Besides teachers' personal inclinations, the lack of courses and resources for teachers to equip themselves in teaching Chinese music also accounted for the unpopularity of Chinese music in the survey.

Question 8: Chinese classical music
School 7: Not enough knowledge on this topic.
School 12: I was not trained [to teach Chinese music].
School 23: Limited education.
School 31: Lack of information.
School 37: Limit of resources, teacher's knowledge is [in] adequate.
School 49: .....I know very little.
School 52: .....I'm not familiar with it.

Some music teachers did not feel confident in teaching Chinese music, due to their limited knowledge of Chinese music and the shortage of resources available for them to teach it.

7.3.2.2 Reasons that teachers had Chinese music in schools

This section will describe the reasons why some music teachers said that they did teach Chinese classical music in their schools. These reasons

include the devised syllabus outlining the content of teaching Chinese classical music and the consideration of teaching Chinese classical music as an educational and cultural undertaking.

Firstly, Chinese music was introduced in schools according to the syllabuses set by the Education Department. As the state authority (i.e. the Education Department) provided the syllabuses for the incorporation of Chinese classical music in the curriculum, some teachers thought that they had to carry out their duties to teach it. For some respondents, the role of music teachers in teaching Chinese music was an inescapable obligation. Teachers of schools 17, 30, 35, 43, 46, 48, 53 and 55 agreed with each other that the introduction of Chinese music in their schools was in line with the music syllabuses provided by the Hong Kong Education Department. The teaching of Chinese classical music was a co-operation with the educational system.

Secondly, teaching Chinese classical music was considered to have general educational value in schools by some respondents. Some teachers focused on the introduction of the main orchestral families of Chinese music and their instruments as the core of learning Chinese "classical" music.[46] Teachers helped pupils explore and identify the tone colour of the Chinese instruments, so that pupils could develop their interests and potential in understanding and distinguishing the Chinese musical instruments, as well as comparing them with the Western orchestra.

Question 8: Chinese classical music

School 6: ..... enrich one's musical knowledge.....Chinese musical instruments.

School 8: [Pupils] know at least the Chinese instruments (orchestra).

The Chinese orchestra is compared with the Western one-their similarities and differences. [Pupils can] identity different kinds of Chinese folk music and illustrate with examples....

School 17: .....in introducing the instruments of Chinese orchestra.....

Some teachers recommended that Chinese music was an essential part of the framework in the curriculum. The learning of Chinese classical music could widen pupils' musical horizons.

Question 8: Chinese classical music

School 6: .....expose to different kinds of music.....
School 36: .....a kind of useful knowledge in music education.
School 56: .....broaden pupils' knowledge.

Thirdly, teaching Chinese classical music was characterised as an act of cultural transmission by some music teachers. Some teachers had Chinese music in their schools because they thought that they had the responsibility to transmit Chinese culture through Chinese music. The teaching of Chinese music could help students develop a Chinese identity founded in a Hong Kong Chinese cultural community.

Question 8: Chinese classical music

School 13: The culture is close to us.
School 42: As Chinese, [pupils] need to know something about Chinese music.
School 48: [To introduce] Chinese culture.
School 58: Students should learn and appreciate Chinese music.
School 60: Pupils should have an understanding of their own culture.

As viewed by the above music teachers (i.e. Schools 13, 42, 48, 58 & 60), music lessons were regarded as one of the main educational paths to study the way of traditional Chinese life. The purpose of teaching Chinese music was to enhance pupils' cultural consciousness and shape their social behaviour. Pupils were encouraged to find enjoyment in music activities

which were deeply rooted in the structure of Chinese society. The musical meaning of Chinese music in schools is related to wider issues of its cultural and national contexts.

To conclude, the transmission of Chinese classical music was not welcomed by some music teachers because they did not have enough knowledge in this field. Some respondents thought that traditional Chinese music should be introduced in order to fulfill part of the teaching content of the music syllabus. Some respondents, however, regarded teaching Chinese classical music as a way of introducing specific educational and cultural values in schools.

7.3.3 Hong Kong Serious (Classical) Music

Compared with Western and Chinese classical music, Hong Kong classical music was inferior in the curriculum (see the comparative chart in Appendix Nine). Only eight music teachers (schools 1, 24, 31, 34, 35, 40, 42 and 60) taught Hong Kong contemporary "serious" music. School 20 said that Hong Kong serious music was seldom recommended in her lessons and School 57 did not give an answer to the question of Hong Kong serious music.

According to John Chen, a Hong Kong composer and senior lecturer at the Baptist University, "in Hong Kong performance world, when people hear the term contemporary music, they regard it as poison. They think of disco" (Wallis in *South China Morning Post*: The Review, September 24, 1994, p.9). Law (1991: 229) argues that music institutes and the mass

media, such as radio and television, "strive hard to provide a climate" for the growth of Hong Kong serious music. However, he (1990: 248) notes that Hong Kong has no commercial music publishers to sympathise with this new music. From this perspective, contemporary Hong Kong "serious" music also appeared to be left out in formal and informal music education.[47]

Some schools agreed with each other that the resources for teaching Hong Kong serious music were inadequate. Teaching material and resources for teaching Hong Kong serious music were limited.

Question 9: Hong Kong "serious" music
School 6: Lack of repertoire.
School 11: .....the materials provided are not that handy.
School 17: Material is not common.
School 22: Don't have much resources.
School 29: Less materials provided.
School 30: No information.
School 37: Inadequate knowledge.
School 39: No such kind resources.
School 48: Cannot find the music and score.
School 49: I have no resources and even I would like to [teach].
School 53: Lack of information.
School 59: Not enough resources.

Most music teachers did not teach Hong Kong serious music because they did not have confidence in teaching this topic. The teaching content was limited to the extent of "musical knowledge" that the teacher had of this music. Without having individual experience of the musical style of contemporary Hong Kong "serious" music, music teachers would have difficulties in teaching it.

Question 9: Hong Kong "serious" music
School 2: Not easy to be understood.....
School 4: ..... I am not familiar with it.
School 9: I do not know enough of this music. Usually this music is new. It's too difficult to arouse students' interest in it.
School 10: Not knowing much of this kind of music written by Hong Kong

composers.
School 21: Don't know about that.
School 23: No opportunity to contact this.
School 26: It's too difficult for [pupils] to learn.
School 57: I am not familiar with it.

Teachers and pupils did not know much about this type of music which engendered aggravation during teaching and listening. Therefore, Hong Kong serious music was nearly invisible in the Hong Kong music curriculum.

7.3.4 Contradictions Between the Transmission of Western, Chinese and Hong Kong classical music

Although both Western and Chinese classical music are suggested in the syllabuses (both in junior and senior forms), the former was more popular than the latter. (As mentioned earlier, fifty-eight music teachers taught Western "classical" music; whilst thirty-seven taught Chinese music and even then, many were unenthusiastic. Eight teachers taught contemporary Hong Kong classical music written by Hong Kong composers.)

Although one of the major goals in the 1990s overall Hong Kong school curriculum is to encourage pupils to understand and appreciate their Chinese cultural heritage, Chinese and Hong Kong classical music have not been placed as significant elements in the music curriculum. The content of the curriculum is related to the characteristics of the "colonial bureaucratic system" in which traditional Western music dominates in schools. Hong Kong pupils experience an "alien education"[48] under the British colonial music education system.

In order to understand the impact of music teachers' education on the

secondary music curriculum, I conducted an interview with Mrs. Jane Cheung, Head of Fine Arts Department of the Hong Kong Institute of Education on August 17, 1995. Mrs. Cheung remarked that Western classical music had been placed as more important than Chinese and Hong Kong classical music in the teachers' training courses in Hong Kong. She maintained that it was the "tradition" to promote Western classical music which was highly recognised by the Education Department. She, however, pointed out that Chinese classical music would be getting more significance as the issue of 1997 was coming. Mrs. Cheung also said that Hong Kong classical or serious music was under one of the topics in teaching music history of the twentieth century for the old Teachers' Certificates.[49] However, full-time students were not provided with any special course to learn Hong Kong serious music. The Institute only ran courses on Hong Kong serious music for a refresher training course which was an in-service training course, operated on alternate Saturday mornings, and sometimes the Institute invited Hong Kong composers to be guest speakers to give lectures on this topic. Dr. Chan Wing-wah and Professor Allan Marett, heads of the music departments at Hong Kong Chinese University and Hong Kong University, offered their views on the questionnaires indicating that Western classical music had contributed an important part to their curricula but that their institutions had also introduced Chinese and Hong Kong contemporary serious music. According to Dr. Chan Wing-wah, the Hong Kong Chinese University has offered both Western and Chinese classical music programmes since 1965 but it did not provide a particular

course on Hong Kong serious music which was only incorporated in twentieth century music history and composition. Professor Allan Marett considered Western classical music as "an important element of Hong Kong's cultural life". He noted that most students in the institution had training in Western classical music, particularly through the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music (ABRSM) and that this training should be built on. Professor Marett also noted that courses on Chinese classical music were "confined to the world music course" but courses for Hong Kong serious music were "offered at II/III level by Dr. Chan Kam Biu, a local composer."

In my interpretation, students might mainly grow up with formal education in a particular musical culture - Western classical music. The prominent role of traditional Western music in the secondary curriculum, teachers' training courses and higher music education institutions is a result of the socio-political control of the colonial government. The Hong Kong state has created the music education system to be an "enterprise culture" of European "classical" music. What is challenging this, as I have argued, is a sense of crisis of cultural identity in the music curriculum. Students have suffered from an ambiguity of cultural identity and are denied their opportunities to experience their local culture in the Hong Kong music education system, particularly the junior secondary school students.

7.4 FOLK MUSIC

7.4.1 Western and Chinese Folk Music

In this section, the significance of teaching folk music in Hong Kong formal music education will be discussed. The teaching of Western folk music and Chinese folk music will also be evaluated with reference to the results of the survey. Fifty-eight out of the sixty music teachers said that they taught Western folk music in their schools; whilst fifty of them noted that they had Chinese folk music in their lessons (see the comparative chart in Appendix Nine).

7.4.1.1 Familiarity of folk music

The words and melodies are the two basic elements of folk songs which should be regarded as inseparable (Sharp 1972: xxii). Brace (1978: 64) has also argued that the teaching of folk music should begin with some traditional tunes with limited range and simple rhythms. Lyrics and melodies are believed to be the rudiments to be taught.

Owing to familiarity with melodious Western and Chinese folk tunes, some teachers in Hong Kong were confident in teaching folk music and found this type of teaching materials easy to deal with.

Questions 10: Western folk music
School 2: Good melodies.....easy to sing or perform.
School 6: Tunes and lyrics are easier than that of Western "popular" music.
School 8: Mainly folksongs....
School 14: Easy for students to learn and sing.
School 22: Easier to sing.
School 58: Easy to sing.

Question 11: Chinese folk music
School 9: Only some folk songs [are taught] because they are melodious. Students can have at least a bit experience with them.

Although folk music was considered as an essential component in teaching by some respondents, it contributed only a small part to the curriculum. Folk music was regarded by some respondents as simply an auditory sensation and pleasurable experience. The aim of teaching folk music was partly for enjoyment because students were kept amused by this music. The significance of folk music was thought to derive from the fact that the principal artistic function of folk music was to cultivate sensory gratification.

Question 10: Western folk music
School 9: a bit only, for pleasure only.
School 13: More interesting.
School 29: The students like most.
School 30: .....arouse the interest of the students.
School 31: Students are interested.
School 53: Pupils may have a greater curiosity to learn the musical elements.

Question 11: Chinese folk music
School 30: .....arouse the interest of the students.
School 44: Easy to appeal.
School 51: Relaxing.

7.4.1.2 Social functions of folk music

Folk music has some connections with "cultural background" and social behaviour can be articulated through the medium of folk music. Rhodes (1966: 18) points out, "Folk music has never been static. By its very nature it mirrors the life of the time and place which produces it." As suggested by Lloyd (1978: 10), "Nowadays by 'folk' we understand groups of people

united by shared experience and common attitudes that have become elaborated, sanctioned, stabilised by the group over a period of time." Lawton and Gordon (1993: 10) also assert that the connection between education and culture is important in the implementation of school curriculum. Folk music is socially mediated and socially significant. The particular musical style of folk music carries social and cultural implications because a set of meanings or delineated significance is embodied in the music's basic qualities.

In the survey, some teachers believed that folk music was a social phenomenon as well as a human product dealing with the meaning of society. Folk music, as examined by some teachers, was an essential form of musical activities because of its social and cultural contexts rooted in the lyrics. The lyrics of folk songs were a reflection of the culture. As folk music was an integral functioning part of society, ideas of social and/or cultural meaning could be delineated in its musical styles and lyrics. An adequate analysis of the lyrics contributed to an understanding of the nature of folk music's meaning. The introduction of folk music was to orient pupils' appreciation of the Chinese and Western cultures and customs.

Question 10: Western folk music

School 6: [Pupils can have] a wider exposure to earlier form of music, with simple instrumental accompaniment and direct message was conveyed through plain words. [Pupils can] understand the society that the "folk" music period was undergoing, through the lyrics.

School 42: To learn [other] culture[s].

Question 11: Chinese folk music

School 6: Get my students to know the culture and custom through Chinese "folk" music.

School 19: Just enough to realise the [Chinese] culture.
School 22: Traditional songs should be learnt.
School 42: To [understand] our culture.
School 48: [To promote] Chinese culture.
School 58: To know the people's character of different geographical districts.

7.4.1.3 Limitations of teaching folk music

In the survey, it was found that the materials available for teaching folk were limited for some respondents. Teachers were textbook-orientated and only utilised the resources provided in the textbooks. Textbooks were regarded as the major form of music teaching materials available in Hong Kong. In other words, if folk music was not included in the books, some teachers might not have folk music in schools.

Question 10: Western folk music
School 7: Only relevant material printed in the textbook.
School 8: Mainly folksongs, printed on the music textbook.

Question 11: Chinese folk music
School 13: Only those included in the song book.
School 17: Included in textbook.

7.4.2 Contradictions Between the Transmission of Western and Chinese Folk Music

Based on the data of my survey, there was not a big difference in the number of teachers having Western folk music and Chinese folk music in their schools. Nevertheless, more teachers were interested in teaching Western folk music than Chinese folk music. A first reason for this, I suggest, is the language problem of singing Chinese folk songs in Mandarin. Chinese folk songs are supposed to be sung in Mandarin (Putonghua). Some music teachers have difficulties in teaching their students to sing Chinese

folk songs in Mandarin.

Owing to the language barrier, Hong Kong students whose first language is Cantonese (a Chinese dialect) have difficulty singing in Mandarin. The problem was that only a few local teachers had formal training in teaching in Mandarin (*South China Morning Post*, August 1, 1994).[50] The promotion of singing Chinese folk songs relies on the availability of qualified music teachers with proficiency in teaching Mandarin. Because of Hong Kong's unique background, more emphasis has been put on training in English. English has gained significance as Hong Kong developed as a commercial, financial and manufacturing centre after the Second World War. A survey of candidates taking the Institute of Linguists final diploma discovered that, on the job, English was practised 66.86 percent of the time, Cantonese 31.82 percent of the time, and Mandarin 1.3 percent of the time (Pierson 1992: 190). The influence of English was also apparent in Hong Kong education. Presently, more than 90% of Hong Kong primary school children learn in Chinese; while at secondary schools, 90% of the pupils attended English medium schools (*South China Morning Post*, July 19, 1994). In secondary schools, teachers had no problem in teaching Western folk songs which were most likely to be sung in English anyway.

However, the increasing emphasis on the language of Mandarin is caused by the "potential political, economic and educational benefits," especially in running up to 1997 and after the reunification of Hong Kong with the PRC (Kwo 1992: 203).[51] If Mandarin becomes a compulsory study

in Hong Kong formal education after 1997, it will no longer remain on the periphery of the school curriculum. Teachers and students will have more exposure to the language of Mandarin. The teacher of School 8 said, "most of Chinese folk songs are good if sung in Mandarin". The emphasis on teaching and singing Chinese folk songs will be more important in the music curriculum.

Another reason that Western folk music appealed more to both teachers and pupils than the Chinese folk music was because of personal preference for the musical style.

Question 10: Western folk music
School 4: Form 3 [students] like to sing.
School 13: More interesting.
School 17: I am more familiar.....
School 22: .....students like [Western folk music].
School 29: The students like most.
School 37: Pupils are interested in this topic.
School 51: ..... easy to accept.

Some teachers and students were more keen on teaching and learning Western folk music, rather than Chinese folk songs. Even among teachers who had Chinese folk music in their classes, some did not teach it seriously. Only a little or some Chinese folk songs were taught.

Question 11: Chinese folk music
School 2: Only a little bit and only the famous ones.
School 9: Only some folk songs.....
School 12: .....I choose some [Chinese folk songs] which I think is popular.

School 43 also argued that Chinese folk music was not an easy subject to deal with.

Question 11: Chinese folk music

School 43: Difficult to sing and to teach.

7.5 POPULAR MUSIC

In the survey, the transmission of popular music was not welcomed by most respondents. Thirty-five out of sixty respondents taught Western popular music, nine taught Chinese popular music from Mainland China and twenty-two taught Hong Kong popular music (see the comparative chart in Appendix Nine). Amongst these thirty-five respondents teaching Western popular music, the respondent of School 9 claimed that only "musicals" were taught as the materials of Western popular music. In addition, four respondents (Schools 7, 21, 24 and 36) did not answer Question 12 (Western popular music) but the respondent of School 36 said, "a bit" and the respondent of School 21 noted that she taught the music of "Beatles" only. Nine respondents (of Schools 1, 4, 32, 35, 36, 37, 44, 53 & 58) taught Chinese "popular" music from Mainland China, whilst one of them (school 4) further commented that she taught only a few songs and one (school 44) said that she only sometimes taught Chinese popular songs. Twenty-two teachers taught Hong Kong popular music but one of them (school 55) asserted that only a brief discussion of the history of Hong Kong popular music was introduced in school.

7.5.1 Reasons for Popular Music Being Neglected in Schools

7.5.1.1 Insufficiency of teachers' training

The first impediment for teaching popular music in schools was the

insufficiency of teachers' training in this musical style. Only eight teachers (Schools 1, 3, 15, 22, 25, 26, 51 & 55) had any training for teaching popular music: teachers of Schools 1 and 3 from the college(s) of education in Hong Kong; teacher of School 15 from the university sector outside Hong Kong, teacher of School 22 from the Education Department and other social institutions, teacher of School 25 from the university sector in Hong Kong. Teachers of Schools 1, 22, 26 and 55 also learned popular music through self-studies. Besides self-studies, teacher of School 51 also had her studies from local pop musicians. However, most teachers did not get any training in popular music and were not familiar with this type of music. Many teachers did not teach popular music because they did not know much about it and were not familiar with its style. Teachers lacking knowledge of popular music felt unconfident and incompetent in teaching popular music.

7.5.1.2 Teachers' personal preference

The second reason was the personal preference of music teachers. As music teachers did not have interest or knowledge in teaching popular music, they would not teach this musical style in schools.

Questions 12: Western popular music
School 2: Not of my interest .....
School 2: .....Not of my own interest.
School 6: I am not familiar with!
School 49: I know little about it.

Question 13: Chinese popular music
School 9: I know nothing of it.
School 10: Do not know much.
School 12: I don't know about that.

School 13: Not interested.
School 19: No music educational value.
School 38: This is not what I like and not included in the suggested syllabus.
School 49: I know little about it.
School 52: Know little about it.

Question 14: Hong Kong popular music
School 13: Not interested.

7.5.1.3 Shortage of teaching resources, controlled syllabuses and school policies

The third reason that some teachers did not teach popular music was that there was a lack of resources provided by the Education Department. With regard to curriculum decision making, namely the control of textbooks that are approved for use in schools, the Education Department is the dominant influence on the content of formal music education. As there are few resources, or none, for teaching popular music provided by the music textbooks, the introduction of popular music is not encouraged in the curriculum.

Questions 12: Western popular music
School 2: .....less resources....
School 48: Cannot find the music and score.

Question 13: Chinese popular music
School 38: .....not included in the suggested syllabus.
School 48: No resources.
School 49: No resources.

Question 14: Local Hong Kong popular music
School 2: Less resources....
School 6: Lack of resources....
School 7: Not found in the textbook.
School 14: No enough materials.
School 22: No resources.
School 24: No available resources.
School 30: No information.
School 31: Lack of information.

School 39: No such resources.

The respondent of School 55 also stated that the teaching of Western, Chinese and Hong Kong popular music was not required by the outline of [formal] music education. School 20 even emphasised that it was "school policy" not to teach Hong Kong popular music. This form of influence, as with the school policies and production of syllabus, is indirectly under the control of the government's Education Department.

7.5.1.4 No/less musical value of popular music

The fourth reason that popular music was not introduced by some respondents was because students were thought of as having a lot of experience with popular music outside the school environment. Some teachers thought that it was not necessary to learn popular music in schools. They regarded teaching popular music as a waste of time because pupils have already had a broad experience of popular music, gained from outside the school environment through the mass media. This point of debate around popular music was that popular music has been considered as a commercially produced form of popular culture. Distinctions between cultures within and without the school, as suggested by some teachers, should be made in classrooms. Popular music, as considered by some teachers, had no educational and musical values.

Questions 12: Western popular music

School 2: .....Up to the choice of the students, they can listen to [popular music] in their homes.

Question 13: Chinese popular music
School 19: No music education value.

Question 14: Local Hong Kong popular music
School 2: .....not worthy to "teach" comparatively.
School 7: No, the students know this music well enough.
School 9: Students have enough exposure to popular music already.
School 10: Not necessary.
School 12: Students know a lot [popular music] more than I do.
School 17: Students can obtain it easily in.....mass media, not much value to [teach popular music] in lessons.
School 24: Students know this much better than you. Don't encourage them on this part too much since the text of the song is not very good for students' mental health.
School 39: Students have already known lots of [popular songs]. There is no need for me to "teach" them.
School 44: Students can listen [popular music] all the time, we have only 1 lesson each week. I want to teach them something they don't know yet.
School 58: Students know better than me.
School 59: Most of it is not suitable to teach in classroom.

With reference to Britain's music education, as I have discussed in Chapter One, Vulliamy (1977) reported that music education practices had been dominated by the methods and techniques of the European "serious" traditional music and teachers had tended to adopt a narrow view as to what "counted" as music in schools. In the case of Hong Kong, music education nearly twenty years later faces the same situation. As reflected in teachers' views on popular music in this survey, popular music was not as important and meaningful as the "high status knowledge" of classical music in schools. Some teachers perpetuated a hierarchical structure of musical knowledge by ignoring the inclusion of popular music in the curriculum. The study of popular music in schools is seen as an opposition to classical music. Western classical music represents authentic school knowledge; whilst popular music is contemplated as a threat to Western art

music and as an inferior art form. Western "classical" music has been regarded as aesthetically and culturally valuable. Popular music has been blamed for an alleged decline in music educational standards.

The rigid stratification of knowledge between teachers and pupils was apparent in the dimension of promoting classical and popular music. The process of music education could not be shared by both teachers and pupils in the evolving society. Pupils are encouraged to study classical music, rather than popular music. In my interview with Mrs Jane Cheung, she also highlighted that popular music was only introduced as a part of twentieth century music. In her opinion, popular music should not be emphasised and encouraged in the secondary music curriculum. Nevertheless, Mrs. Cheung noted that popular music could be used for teaching musical elements. In the questionnaire of Dr. Chan Wing-wah, he stated that the Hong Kong Chinese University did not run courses for popular music because students had come across popular music in their daily life and it was not necessary to "highlight" this musical style and the institute did not have time to offer such courses. According to the questionnaire of Professor Allan Marett, popular music was an important area in musicology and the Hong Kong University had two master students doing popular music at the moment.

In this survey, there are contradictions within and between what I refer to as the concept of musical intelligence and that of social development in the goals of Hong Kong music education. Musical intelligence relates to the acquisition of musical knowledge and skills to interpret and/or

understand musical materials. The musical significance of popular music can be analysed for its musical elements. Popular music, like any other form of music, utilises the elements of sound, harmony, melody, rhythm in some manner. This type of analysis can serve as an objective basis for making a judgement on the quality of the music. The goal of social development conceives the musical values partly in relation to social changes; this I consider, should be the primary form of study in schools. The social meaning of popular music, as I argue, relates to social identities and/or social reflection. Popular music, therefore, privileges in a very particular sense, the facilitating of transcendent social consciousness. The educational value of popular music includes the embodiment of social, aesthetic, moral values and perhaps economical, industrial, political, and technological values too.

7.5.2 Reasons for teachers having popular music in schools

Some teachers believed that their students liked and enjoyed popular music and they focused on what kept pupils interested in the activity of learning music. This indicates a theory of child-centred education. The musical meaning was a gratification of the sense which gave joy to pupils.

Question 14: local Hong Kong popular music

School 4: To arouse students' interest.

School 19: Only to arose [the interest] of young people, not for educational theme.

School 29: ....lead the .... motivation to the students.

School 30: .....arouse interest.....

School 52: Not really teach it but sometimes I will let students introduce what they like. They may play pop music in the class.

Despite teaching popular music, these teachers did not aim to help pupils

to explore the musical side of popular music nor to examine popular music in its social context. I refer to the way teachers (of Schools 4, 19, 29, 30 & 52) did teach popular music, but not seriously, only for enjoyment.

However, the teacher of School 31 stated that the teaching material of Hong Kong popular music was useful for teaching theory in music. The Teacher of School 49 noted that Hong Kong pop music could be used for teaching materials in recorder playing and her students then had more interest in practicing. She made use of the teaching materials of popular music to arouse students' interest to play recorders and learn the musical elements.

Moreover, the aim of teaching popular music, as suggested by some respondents, was to examine music's nature and value in accordance with personal experiences and the growing society, as well as to establish the relationship between the individual and the cultural heritage. These respondents attempted to develop pupils' positive attitude towards popular music by helping them understand and appreciate the lyrics of popular songs which bring good messages to pupils. The study of popular music was suggested to embody broader questions around the significance of social meaning which were embedded in musical texts. In this case, the meaning of popular music was not treated as wholly determined by its commercial means of production; rather it was related to a wider issue of social understanding. Three teachers (of schools 6, 22 and 58) believed that some popular music could help pupils in facing their lives positively. They did not involve pupils in the music, but rather focused on lyrics as the important

teaching point.

Question 13: Chinese popular music
School 22: Only those with good lyrics with teaching pointing.....

Question 14: Local Hong Kong popular music
School 6: ..... Good messages from the songs can encourage my students toward life.

Questions 12, 13 & 14 (Western, Chinese and Hong Kong popular music)
School 58: Lyrics are good and encouraging.....lyrics can reflect the issues of our generation.

The lyrics of popular songs can be a reflection of culture. Popular songs can be seen as a site of symbolic struggle in social awareness. According to Richard Middleton (1990), popular music is part of the culture. Popular music can be any form of music arising from a particular social group. "Pop", as argued by John Comer (1982: 7), "is not just a musical style of meanings, a shorthand reference to larger personal and social values." Viewed as a sociological phenomenon, popular music is analysed for its part in social changes. Being involved in popular music transforms the self, providing a social value orientation. Teachers are encouraged to adopt an "open" style of music education in which pupils can find their interest in various types of popular music. Some popular songs are highly philosophical, stressing universal human concerns about war, freedom, equality, brotherhood/sisterhood, love and justice. This type of songs can deliver a positive attitude toward life, and reflect people's search for beauty, a healthy world and a utopia.

To sum up, less emphasis was placed on popular music by some respondents because of the shortage of resources, the lack of promotion from Hong Kong schools and the Education Department, the shortage of

provision in teachers' training, teachers' personal preference for not teaching popular music, as well as the concern that popular music was of no/less musical value. Pop music was regarded as educationally inferior in the Hong Kong music curriculum. As a result, most students were largely denied the opportunities to experience popular music in schools. Even among the few respondents who had popular music in schools, they did not really teach it and centred on the messages delivered by the lyrics. Such attitudes to popular music require a radical redefinition of what counts as music in the curriculum. Struggles over the musical meaning of popular music needs to be explored within the Hong Kong music education system.

7.6 OTHER WORLD MUSIC (excluding music from Mainland China and Western Europe as mentioned in previous questions)

The emphasis on broad musical experiences is indicative of changing attitudes towards music as an art form under the influence of musicians, sociologists and ethnomusiocologists who have extended musical horizons to include various types of music in a wider world perspective. Many music educators and musicians, such as John Blacking, value the study of world music for musical, rather than social, reasons. David Gwilt, a music professor of Hong Kong Chinese University, suggests that different kinds of music should be introduced in order to give children "a greater range of choices in music appreciation" (Cheung in *South China Morning Post: Young Post*, December 6, 1994, p.1). The survey found that thirty-six out of sixty music teachers taught other world music. The teacher of School 59 did

not give her answer to the question but she noted that she did not have enough time to teach other world music.

7.6.1 Unfamiliarity of World Music

This type of music has not been recognised by some music teachers in the survey owing to teachers' unfamiliarity with other world music.

Question 16 for pilot test and Question 15 for main survey: Other world music

School 5: Lack of repertoire.
School 7: Have no knowledge.
School 8: No material.
School 9: Know nothing of it.
School 26: It'd not worth learning in secondary schools.
School 30: No information.
School 36: I am lack of the knowledge.
School 42: ....I am not familiar with them.
School 49: I don't know much.

The teachers' unfamiliarity with other world music is related to their limited musical knowledge from around the world. Consequently, the respondents paid no attention to teaching other world music.

7.6.2 Emphasis of Folk Songs in Teaching World Music

Although some teachers taught other world music, they emphasised teaching folk songs. The focus of traditional tunes of other world music was conceived as the core of teaching world music. For example:

Question 16 for pilot test and Question 15 for main survey: Other world music

School 2: Russian folk, Czech-folk, English (Irish) folk, Japanese folk.
School 11: Japanese folk, India folk, Negro spiritual folk.
School 13: Mexican folk, Italian folk.
School 15: Chinese folk, Japanese folk, African folk, American folk.....
School 24: Asian folk.

School 27: Japanese folk, Israel folk.
School 33: Japanese folk, Middle East folk, USA folk.
School 36: Japanese folk.
School 39: Russian folk, German folk.
School 41: American folk.
School 45: Asian folk.
School 54: Italian folk.

7.6.3 Importance of Teaching Other World Music

Blacking (1976 & 1987) argues that there are deep musical structures in all music which are related to common human experiences. The task of music teachers, as argued by Plummeridge (1991), is to devise various activities which involve pupils in the wide variety of music that is not only of the pupils' society but also the "world" society. As we live in a multi-cultural society, more consideration should be given to this factor in planning the content of music education. The development of music education in schools should involve all kinds of music-making to help pupils partake of the social, economic, political and artistic life of their own countries and of the world at large. The content of school music teaching should be not only centred on Western classical music, or on traditional folk songs, but also on other world music.

School music teaching should increase its diversity in content to include music of different cultures in the world.

Question 16 for pilot test and 15 for main survey: Other world music
School 10: In order to let them know more different kinds of music in the world.
School 15: Different countries has different music culture.
School 44: Enlarge the repertoires.
School 48: Widen students' scope.
School 51: Let my students have a broader view of musical interpretations in different countries.

School 52: To widen the students' scope of view in music field.
School 57: Let [students] know more .....of the musical world.
School 58: To learn different kinds of music...., to identify the characteristics of each style, to know different styles of composers.

Teaching a wider variety of musical styles could help pupils to identify the characteristics of different kinds of world music. In the survey, a few respondents maintained that they used other musical styles in teaching world music.

Question 15 for main survey: Other world music
School 19: Like Phantom of the Opera, etc.
School 31: .....Japan (popular music).
School 52: .....German hymn.
School 53: .....Japan (music from movies).
School 57: .....South American countries - Latin music, Indian music.

7.7 CREATIVE MUSIC

The approach of creative music is based on a child-centred educational ideology which involves aspects of pupil involvement, discovery learning, experimental experience and self-expression. The learning process of creative music methods comprehends the whole of students' emotional, sensuous, intellectual, inventive and practical experience. Meyer-Denkmann, a German music educator, remarks that the musical style of creative music initiates pupils' "musical consciousness attuned to contemporary music as well as to all the living qualities of traditional music" (1977: 8). Elliot (1995: 121) also maintains that "music making is a unique and major source of self-growth, self-knowledge (or constructive knowledge), and flow." Chan Wing-wah, a Hong Kong composer and Music Head of the Hong Kong Chinese University, asserts that one of the most

important aims of music teaching is to develop pupils' aural sensitivity and imagination (1989: 24). According to the *Prospectus for Full-time Certificate in Education Courses 1995-96* (p.31), "Composition and Creative Music" is classified as one of the four main components (the other three are "Practical Skills", "Music History" and "Curriculum Studies") of the Academic Studies and Curriculum Studies of teachers' training at the Hong Kong Institute of Education. The adoption of the creative teaching techniques is suggested to be one of the focuses of Hong Kong music education.

In this study, twenty-four teachers said that they had creative music in their schools. Even though two teachers (of schools 2 and 3) had creative music in their lessons, they did not emphasise its place in the school. The teacher of School 2 said, "Very little bit; [based on] the writing of melody and rhythmic pattern". The teacher of School 3 said she only had creative music in senior forms. School 17 had creative music only for the students sitting for the Hong Kong Certificate Examination of Education (HKCEE). Three schools (schools 6, 10 & 21) left out the answer "Yes" or "No" to the Question but School 21 wrote down "Sometimes". Talking about the British music education system twenty-six years ago, Paynter and Aston (1970: 6) noted:

> Although creative work in language, drama and the visual arts has quickly found general acceptance, creative work in music has often been challenged as being of doubtful value in itself, having little bearing on conventional musical education.

With reference to the 1990s Hong Kong formal music education system, creative music has also been questioned in terms of its musical value in the curriculum.

7.7.1 Unfamiliarity of Creative Music

"Creative" music was unpopular in Hong Kong schools because students were unfamiliar with its style. The newness of creative music lies in the unusual sounds that cause the alienation of students and teachers from this type of music. Some teachers thought that their students might be unable to accept and understand this type of music.

Question 15 for pilot survey and Question 16 for main survey: Creative music

School 6: ....I do not teach "creative" music much in Form Two because my students are [not responsive to this type of music]....
School 9: Too difficult for students to accept.
School 26: Their levels are far behind the required standard.
School 36: Students do not meet the standard.
School 38: My students are not at the standard.
School 48: Students cannot follow.
School 55: It is difficult for pupils.

According to *School Education in Hong Kong: A Statement of Aims* (1992:22), pupils should be helped to develop their creativity and aesthetic experiences (e.g. music or art classes) through the formal curriculum and extra-curricular activities. However, as suggested in this survey, Hong Kong music education was not well-balanced in the development of pupils' intellectual, creative and feeling capacities. As Elliot Eisner points out, when children are denied access to a major expressive mode such as music, they are deprived of "the meaning that the making of music makes possible" (in Fowler 1991:18).

7.7.2 Aims of Teaching Creative Music

Some teachers used creative teaching techniques to encourage students to express themselves. The study of creative music was believed to play an essential part in cultivating and refining students' sensibilities and expression in the embodiment of their feelings. Students were helped to discover sound and compose their own music through the creative teaching method.

Question 16 : Creative music

School 39: I believe that music is a means to express "oneself", not just learning those composers who died hundreds years ago. I really want them to "experience" music as a contemporary "friend".

School 42: ....use the musical language to express [pupils'] own idea.

School 53: Music is language, one of the function is for expressing one's emotion.....

School 58: Stimulate students' creativity, i.e. creative thinking.

7.7.3 Activities of Creative Music

Some teachers adopted creative teaching techniques (e.g. composition and improvisation) in their teaching and treated the music curriculum as a set of experiments rather than as an objective certainty. These teachers used this creative approach to arouse students' interest in melodic and rhythmic writing. Pupils' creative imagination was also stimulated by playing percussion instruments to make special sound effects. Creative music was an extension of ensemble performance as an essential performing activity.

Question 15 (pilot test) & Question 16 (main survey): Using creative teaching techniques

School 11: Compare single melody of 8 to 16 bars with regards to cadence, balance, etc.

School 13: Add some percussion in music to make some different [musical] effect.

School 14: Composition; sound project.

School 51: .....ostinato improvisation, create rhythmic patterns, improvise a short phrase with a given chord progression.
School 58: Compose answering phrases, create new rhythmic patterns to compose a song.

Moreover, students were also encouraged to use words to express themselves and to refine their thoughts with relation to music. Music activities were devised to help students manage words and music to reflect their ideas about the mood of the music. By verbalising the music, students were helped to heighten their musical understanding and emotional response to music.

Question 15 (pilot test) & Question 16 (main survey): Creative music
School 22: .....Cantonese lyrics writing, song writing.
School 30: Write lyrics.
School 31: Rewrite the words of songs.....
School 51: Set words to rhythm, set rhythm to words,.....set words to music,

Creative music was also used to cultivate students' imagination through drawing and painting with music. Students were helped to think like artists, so as to express themselves in visual symbols. Students' critical powers and perceptions could be developed in an exploration of the materials of music with painting or drawing.

Question 15 (pilot test) & Question 16 (main survey): Creative music
School 25: Transmit the music (acoustic) to visual painting or drawing paper (colour).
School 31: .....picture drawing.

Creative music, I suggest, is the first-hand contact with sound as a vehicle for expression. Through the use of creative music-making techniques, students are provided with an aesthetic value orientation. In other words, students are allowed to perceive themselves to have love, fear,

suffering, anger, failure and triumph in the exploration of sound materials. The value of creative music is delineated in the forms of sound that pupils can come to experience with understanding and to explore their personal worlds of meaning.

7.8 PROMOTION OF CHINESE DEMOCRATIC POPULAR SONGS AS PART OF CIVIC EDUCATION

As discussed in Chapter Five, the relationship between politics and the school curriculum changed drastically after 1984 when it became clear that Britain would return Hong Kong's sovereignty to the PRC in 1997. As shown in my survey, there were twenty-seven (out of the total of sixty) teachers who noted that the promotion of Chinese democratic popular songs as part of civic education should be introduced in their schools; whilst one respondent (School 8) said, "No comment", one (School 17) said, "I don't know", one (School 37) said, "No idea" and three respondents (of schools 51, 55 & 57) did not give their answers or comments.

7.8.1 Problems of Introducing Democracy Through Civic Education in Schools

"Democracy", as argued by R.S. Peters, is more connected with "principles for proceeding than with a determinant destination, and aims of education in a democracy should emphasise the qualities of mind ....." (1980: 86). Schools, as noted by Cheng (1989: 15), should have an "open democratic atmosphere." He also suggests that democracy cannot only be implemented in schools' policies, but also demonstrated as a "type of culture" (ibid,

translated Ho Wai-chung). This democracy in music education is understood in terms of allowing students' expression to be concerned with wider social perspectives.

In terms of the state, music education has been used as a covert political channel to maintain political order with a view to preserving the legitimacy of the colonial administration. Cheng Kai-ming (1989: 14) said, "From a negative viewpoint, Hong Kong education is insensitive to its political situation, and especially so towards short-term political change. From a positive viewpoint, this insensitivity has allowed Hong Kong education to enjoy relatively long periods of stability" (translated by Ho Wai-chung). This also reflects the same situation as in Hong Kong music education.

Question 18: Chinese democratic popular songs

School 6: Anything relates to political parties, e.g. one's stance is quite sensitive in my schools. Our principal does not encourage teachers to emphasise a particular political ideology.
School 8: ..... political messages should not be overstressed in school.
School 11: I'm not sure if that is alright to do this for a government school like us.
School 57: No need to promote such political idea.
School 58: Too sensitive, music education cannot be politicised.

Owing to the school policies, some teachers did not think that the advocation of political pluralism and/or political freedom as part of civic education or the singing/promotion of Chinese democratic popular songs would advance the democratic life in their schools. Some schools avoided music with emphasis on political dimensions and attempted to guard against the infiltration of social conflicts and tensions in school through music education. The meaning of Chinese democratic popular songs was

counted as a symbol of political identity which was considered as a challenge to the existing social and/or political order. The attitudes of these respondents reflected what Leung Yat-ming, head of the Curriculum Development Institute, said: "educationalists have a duty to ensure that teaching in Hong Kong remains neutral" (*South China Morning Post*, June 19, 1994). The major goal of Hong Kong music education was to ensure that political issues were left out of the curriculum. Music educational policies and practice were a result of "compromise" over the political issue between the PRC state and the Hong Kong state. The democratic dimension of musical knowledge was controlled so as not to confront either the colonial state or the PRC authorities. Apple (1989: 13) identifies state policy always as "the result of multiple levels of conflicts and compromises that stem from and lead to contradictory outcomes".

7.8.2 Misinterpretation of the Survey Question About Chinese Democratic Popular Songs

Although there were 27 out of 60 respondents who agreed with each other that the introduction of Chinese democratic popular songs was a part of civic education, some of them interpreted the question in ways that diverged from its intended meanings. A few respondents interpreted Chinese democratic popular songs as Chinese national songs or Chinese patriotic songs.

Question 18: Chinese democratic popular songs

School 2: For China is our country. We have to know and accept it, whether students like it or not (up to their own taste).

School 13: Hong Kong will be given back to China after 1997.

School 22: Let students learn some important songs of China e.g. [the

PRC's national] anthem.
School 43: Because 1997 is coming, Hong Kong will be back to China.
School 46: Because Hong Kong will be part of China after June 30, 1997.

7.8.3 Delineated Musical Meaning of Chinese Democratic Popular Songs

Some teachers recognised that the introduction of Chinese democratic popular songs was initially to make pupils aware of their sense of belonging to their society. They centred on the transmission of the musical meaning of Chinese democratic songs in terms of the lyrics. Singing Chinese democratic songs could shape the attitudes and behaviour of pupils in the changing society.

Question 18: Chinese democratic popular songs
School 14: Social need.
School 26: It's time to let [students] know this situation in Hong Kong.
School 29: To meet the generation's need.
School 38: Cultural subjects should include civic education.
School 44: Songs with meanings that [are] about life.....
School 49: Because music is part of our lives and we should send good messages to our students.
School 52: Music carries the text. If we sing this kind of songs, students will grasp the meaning of the text.....
School 53: For the better future of Hong Kong.

These respondents maintained that civic education in music education was to help pupils foster a sense of communal identity, and to nurture social and political understanding. The promotion of Chinese democratic popular songs was expected by some respondents to satisfy broader goals in education such as those related to personal, political and social education.

7.9 SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The questionnaires for this research focused on teachers' musical

perspectives and views on Western "classical" music, Chinese "classical" music, Hong Kong contemporary "serious" music, "folk" music, and "popular" music as well as other musical styles such as "world" music, the use of creative teaching techniques and the promotion of civic education through Chinese democratic popular songs. The survey has examined Hong Kong music education in the light of its socio-political and cultural roles.

Sixty music teachers' beliefs and values on music and education have been analysed in this survey. Here, the analysis of Hong Kong music education will be summarized in the following three areas: (1) the personal preferences of musical styles among Hong Kong music teachers; (2) the political nature of Hong Kong music education; and (3) the tensions within Hong Kong music education during the transfer of Hong Kong's sovereignty to the PRC in 1997. Based on the research results, the relationships between the content of music education, musical meanings, socio-political configurations and the state will now be discussed.

Firstly, "school music", as suggested in the survey, was dominated by Western classical music and Western folk music as representing legitimate musical knowledge and meaning in the Hong Kong music education system (see the comparative chart in Appendix Ten). Fifty-eight music teachers (out of the total 60) contended that Western "classical" music was the major preference for them in determining the musical style in their schools. Whilst nearly ninety-seven percent of the respondents (i.e. 58 teachers) taught Western "classical" music, sixty-two percent (i.e. 37 teachers) taught Chinese "classical" music and thirteen percent of the respondents (i.e. 8

teachers) taught Hong Kong "serious" music. In respect of folk music, more respondents preferred Western than Chinese. Nearly ninety-seven percent of the respondents (i.e. 58 teachers) taught Western "folk" music; whereas eighty-three percent of them (i.e. 50 teachers) taught Chinese "folk" music. In the case of popular music, teaching Western popular music was more common than teaching Chinese and Hong Kong popular music. Fifty-eight percent of the respondents (i.e. 35 teachers) taught Western "popular" music; fifteen percent of them (i.e. 9 teachers) taught Chinese "popular" music; and nearly thirty-seven percent of them (i.e. 22 teachers) taught Hong Kong "popular" music. Sixty percent of the respondents (i.e. 36 teachers) taught other world music (excluding Mainland China and Western Europe). Moreover, forty percent of the respondents (i.e. 24 teachers) adopted creative teaching techniques in their schools.

Second, the political nature of British colonial music education with much emphasis on the promotion of European "classical" music is featured in formal Hong Kong music education. Western "classical" music has been the focus of the development of Hong Kong music education; whereas Chinese "classical" music, Hong Kong "serious" music, and "popular" music have long been undermined in the curriculum. To some extent, the development of Hong Kong music syllabuses (1983, 1987, 1992) reflects the attempt of the establishment to strike a balance between Western and Chinese classical music in the valuation of diverse musical styles. According to the *Prospectus for Full-time Certificate in Education Courses 1995-96* (p.31), it also emphasises the introduction of an extensive repertoire

comprehending traditional and contemporary Western and Chinese music as one of the music programmes at the Institute. Both traditional Western and Chinese music are suggested to have a proper statutory place in the curriculum. However, Chinese music is regarded as inferior to traditional Western music in the teaching of music in schools. The music education system is run in such a way as to perpetuate the political ideology which contributes to the reproduction of the social and cultural hegemony of European "serious" music. The cultural identity of Hong Kong "serious" music was not stressed in the formal Hong Kong music curriculum, particularly secondary junior forms.

I have also argued that creative music and popular music have not been highly regarded in the curriculum in terms of aesthetic, social and musical values to be studied. As creative music was understood by some music teachers as a difficult musical activity which was beyond the ability of their students, students were not encouraged to make music of their own and express themselves through music making. The broader social, cultural and economic significance of popular music has also never been promoted and encouraged in the curriculum. In the light of the imminent political change, Hong Kong music education has continued to possess a type of institutional mechanism by means of which is operated what Durkheim calls "the conservation of a culture inherited from the past" (in Bourdieu 1973: 72). Curriculum design in Hong Kong music education was not a dynamic process consisting of the actions and interactions of schools, teachers and pupils and other social institutions outside the school

environment. Consequently, most pupils of these sixty schools did not receive a broad and balanced form of music education and their musical knowledge was based on the transmission of Western musical knowledge. The highly prominent tensions, as I have argued, are the contradictions between the promotion of Western "classical" music, Chinese "classical" music, Hong Kong "serious" music, "popular" music as well as other musical styles in the music curriculum.

Finally, an a-political appearance was sustained in British colonial education. Hong Kong educational policies have been made by a highly centralised system controlled by the Education Department and the Hong Kong Examination Authority (HKEA). Musical meaning in schools is kept apart from society and does not have any obvious socio-political relationships; but outside schools there are clear conflicts between musical meaning, the state and other social institutions in Hong Kong. I regard meanings of musical knowledge in formal classroom education as produced through the interactions of the producer (the state), the promoter (the state and the teachers), the interpreters (the state and teachers), and the receivers (the pupils). Music became seen as "autonomous" in the sense that it was freed from the chains of socio-political influences. Autonomous musical meaning is recognised in school musical knowledge explicitly and is defined as being in the nature of music. Teachers were not encouraged to sing political and/or democratic songs in schools. I suggest that the democratic/political delineated musical meaning of official musical knowledge is avoided in the curriculum as the result of a "compromise"

between the Hong Kong government and the PRC authorities. Nevertheless, in my survey, twenty-seven respondents (i.e. 45% of the total) thought that the promotion of Chinese democratic songs could be introduced into the curriculum for the advocation of political freedom and democracy.

Although British colonial rule in Hong Kong is coming to an end, many patterns of development of music education introduced under colonial rule still exist. Whilst rapid changes have overtaken Hong Kong society during the transfer of Hong Kong's sovereignty to the PRC in 1997, Hong Kong music education does not include as much change, innovation and development focusing on relationships within and between the West, the PRC and local Hong Kong cultures. On the one hand, the Hong Kong music education system has attempted to avoid bringing the conflicts and tensions of society into the school in the realm of democratic delineated musical meaning. The Hong Kong music education system has shaped the content of musical knowledge and controlled the musical meaning in schools so as to keep the social and political order of the future state of Hong Kong. On the other hand, Hong Kong music education has bowed to pressure to prepare pupils for their future as citizens in the PRC through the transmission of Chinese music, including traditional Chinese music and patriotic songs during Mao's period.[52]

In conclusion, the main intention of this chapter has been to throw light on the contradictions and tensions in Hong Kong music education. In the process I have examined musical preferences among Hong Kong music teachers about different musical styles as shown in my survey. The

underlying tensions within Hong Kong music education are largely concealed in the personal preferences of music teachers and the political climate of Hong Kong. In maintaining the diversification of political culture in the future "one-country, two-systems", the Hong Kong music education system is institutionalised in an ideologically European context which conflicts with Chinese traditional values, and the socio-political values of the PRC and Hong Kong indigenous and Chinese cultures.

PART FOUR

MUSIC AS SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION OF THE THESIS

8.1 PURPOSE

In this concluding chapter, the main themes of the thesis will be recapitulated. Firstly, the chapter will outline the patterns of the development of Chinese music education in Imperial China. The changes which took place with the adoption of Western style music education in contemporary China and Hong Kong will also be described. In particular, the chapter will highlight the introduction of traditional Chinese music and civic education into the Western model of Hong Kong music education in the 1980s with reference to the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration. Secondly, the chapter will compare formal music education, the overall Hong Kong education system, and the reception, production and distribution of music outside the school environment in Hong Kong during and after the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident. Thirdly, the chapter will revisit the concept of musical meaning by developing the model of music as a social construction, as an extension of Lucy Green's concept of delineated musical meaning (1988). Finally, the chapter will explore the broader implications of the thesis.

8.2 PATTERNS OF MUSIC EDUCATION IN IMPERIAL CHINA, CONTEMPORARY CHINA AND HONG KONG

8.2.1 Historical Contexts of the Music Education Systems in Imperial China and Contemporary China

The institutions of Chinese music education were established to initiate

people into the rituals of a dominant political culture. The political ideologies of music education in Imperial and contemporary China represent systems of belief which explain and rationalise a particular political order believed best for the society.

Music education was conceived by the Chinese state as one of the most powerful propaganda agents in the well-ordered Confucian society throughout the Imperial dynasties. The importance placed by Confucian ideology on music centred on its ethical moral values, bringing about corrective individual behaviour and universal peace. The aim of traditional Chinese music education was to perfect human beings in tune with the harmonies of the universe. The objective symbolism in music of pitch and instruments was a means to express the proper hierarchical relationships so as to achieve social order under the Imperial rule.

Confucianism in Chinese music education was affected by the impact of China's military defeats by Western countries in the 1840s. Then the Western style of music education began to be introduced into China. In particular, the Christian missionaries from Western European countries established congregational singing and recommended Western harmony and choirs in China. Since the beginning of the 1900s, many Chinese musicians were sent abroad to receive an education in Western harmony and composition. During and after the First World War, nationalistic or patriotic songs were promoted in China as a tool in the struggle against foreign aggression. These types of patriotic songs were marked as protest songs and regarded as the predecessors of the "revolutionary songs" or "songs for the

masses", trumpeted by the Chinese communist government. The communists in China used "songs for the masses" as propaganda to win political support from people during the 1930s and 1940s.

After the establishment of the PRC in 1949, the mass media and the production of music were under the control of the communist government. In spite of an end to the influence of capitalist countries from the West, Western influence continued in China, but now China turned towards the Soviet Union for musical development and inspiration. Many Chinese musicians were sent to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe to study music, and China under communism formulated the policy of music along the lines of Marxist-Leninism. During the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) in Communist China, the promotion of certain types of music was used to redirect socio-political life and monitor people's behaviour. Western and traditional Chinese music were banned and condemned as politically counter-revolutionary. Although Deng Xiaoping liberalised cultural policy under the implementation of the "Four-modernization" programme in 1978, the state still dominates the production of music by not allowing any content which is seen as being against the PRC authorities. Music is viewed by the Chinese state as a tool for political propaganda, serving socialist purposes in China.

Therefore, the thesis suggests that the utilitarianism of music is promoted as a socio-political control. Certain kinds of music are considered as inducing perfection in social behaviour and as political functionalism in Chinese music education. The governments of Imperial China and the PRC

have used music education to regulate the beliefs of people, so as to consolidate the political leadership.

8.2.2 The British Colonial Music Education of Hong Kong

The transmission of musical knowledge is European-orientated in Hong Kong music education. Colonialism has included a cultural formation, thus the culture of the colonised and the colonising power cannot be distinguished. However, the thesis has also maintained that the introduction of traditional Chinese music into the 1980s Hong Kong music education system, influenced by political transformations in Hong Kong, is a move of localisation to help pupils understand the culture of their future motherland, i.e. the PRC.

During the period of colonisation, music education in Hong Kong has been a "colonial" product founded on the prominent place of Western classical music in the curriculum. Hong Kong formal music education was not developed until the end of the Second World War. The provision of Western musical training for students in three colleges of education was based on a Western model of music education. The primary and secondary curricula consisted mainly of class singing, notation reading and music listening/appreciation associated with Western musical styles.

However, the 1983 music syllabus for junior secondary schools encouraged teachers to strike a balance between Chinese and Western traditional music in accordance with the political changes of Hong Kong, so as to encourage pupils to appreciate their own musical heritage as well as

that of other countries.[1] Most music teachers placed the teaching of Western classical music as the fundamental musical knowledge in the curriculum. Traditional Chinese music is still, in the mid 1990s, not as highly regarded as Western classical music. Moreover, the development of contemporary Hong Kong music has never been included officially in the junior secondary music curriculum (i.e. Forms 1-3). The transmission of local Hong Kong indigenous popular culture has never been promoted in the music curriculum. Hong Kong popular music has not had any place in the Hong Kong music curriculum. The contradictions between Western classical music, traditional Chinese music, contemporary Hong Kong serious music and Hong Kong popular music have been demonstrated in my survey conducted in October 1994 and February 1995 (see Chapter Seven).

To conclude, this thesis has suggested that in some ways the bureaucratic colonial régime of Hong Kong bears a striking resemblance to the bureaucratic régime of Imperial China as well as communist China in the structure of musical knowledge and controlled musical meaning. The bureaucratic music education system in Imperial and Contemporary China and Hong Kong corresponds to the centralisation of the political system. Under the monopolisation of power by the states, the obsession with social harmony without paying regard to democracy and individualism has been present in the autocratic power structure of the China and Hong Kong music education systems. The evolution of Chinese and Hong Kong music education is a history of political and cultural accommodations between the states' political ideologies and the content of music education in schools.

However, Hong Kong colonial music education has never introduced the party-political meanings in the music curriculum as in the music curriculum of China. Hong Kong music education explicitly claims to be "autonomous" in its meanings but implicitly carries a socio-political function.

8.3 STRUGGLES OF DEMOCRATIC DIMENSIONS IN HONG KONG MUSIC EDUCATION DURING AND AFTER THE 1989 TIANANMEN SQUARE INCIDENT

This section summarises the increase of political education through Hong Kong formal education and extra-curricular activities after the Tiananmen Square Incident in 1989. Firstly, it identifies the socio-political changes in Hong Kong society and highlights the contradictions generated between formal music education and the mediation of music in the wider social perspective in the transmission of democratic popular songs through other social institutions. Secondly, it outlines the comparison made between the overall education system and the music education system in Hong Kong.

Firstly, during and after the 1989 June 4th Incident in Tiananmen Square, Hong Kong and its people (including people from political, educational, and business sectors) intensified their open confrontation with the PRC over the issues of democracy and human rights. As the writer has discussed in Chapters Three and Four, Hong Kong people have enjoyed the benefits of a liberal society with certain freedoms but with limited democracy. Political involvement was relatively low in Hong Kong. After the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident, democratisation evolved with the

formation of political parties, the expansion of electorates and electoral systems and the development of democratic government in Hong Kong. Hong Kong people have changed from negative to positive attitudes towards "politics" during and after the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident. Hong Kong people have become more politically aware and began to understand the importance of political participation.

Singing democratic popular songs became an effective practice for Hong Kong people to express their political stances and to search for cultural identity in music during and after the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident. Hong Kong democratic popular songs are a major force in highlighting the socio-political problems as well as the feelings of people with regard to the political changes in Hong Kong. The tensions of Hong Kong music education are political and are connected with the rise of indigenous popular songs which call forth a democratic and cultural identity in their musical meaning outside the school environment. Hong Kong music education has entered a stage of contradiction in relation to democratic musical meaning. Therefore, this thesis suggests that Hong Kong music education is more "closed" than the changing socio-political structure and other social institutions such as the agencies of market-governed, external music production and consumption which are transmitting musical knowledge concerning the advocation of political pluralism, political freedom and democracy.

Secondly, the political and social movements in Hong Kong also helped the advocation of democracy and/or political education in the

education system. However, fewer significant changes have been made in the music curriculum than in other subjects such as Economic and Public Affairs (EPA), Government and Public Affairs (GPA), Liberal Studies and Chinese History with reference to the transfer of Hong Kong's sovereignty to the PRC in 1997. During the 1980s and 1990s, the provision of political education was explicitly widened in these subjects. There is now a great emphasis on the political systems of the PRC and Hong Kong in the Hong Kong secondary curriculum (with the exception of the music curriculum). These subjects are more "open" than the subject of music in cultivating the sense of belonging to the PRC, regarding the political run up to Hong Kong's sovereignty in 1997. The political concepts and processes linked with democracy are not mentioned in music education in respect of civic education. In the transmission of civic education in the Hong Kong music curriculum, songs on subjects such as loving one's neighbour, Chinese folk songs, and traditional Chinese music are encouraged in the development of moral sensibility as well as the cultivation of national heritage among pupils. The concept of democratic musical meaning is not fostered in the curriculum so as to avoid a political clash entering into the school. However, in my survey, there were twenty-seven (i.e. 45% of the total) respondents who considered that Chinese democratic popular songs could be introduced into the curriculum for the advocation of political freedom and democracy.[2]

The Hong Kong Education Department is, by its very nature, a producer and reproducer of Western classical music which is viewed as a dominant institution within the bureaucratic model. The music curriculum

of Hong Kong secondary schools is drawn up by two organisations which are central in the transmission of Western musical knowledge. These two organisations are the Curriculum Development Council (CDC) and the Hong Kong Examination Authority (HKEA) which have exercised their authority over the content of the music curriculum, music textbooks and music public examinations. The CDC and HKEA became more authoritarian with the accompaniment of the 1991 Education Regulations, which stated that "No salutes, *songs*, dances, slogans.....[that] are in any way of a political or partly political nature shall be used..... except with the permission of the Director and in accordance with such conditions as he may see fit to impose". Thus political/democratic songs were officially not allowed to be sung in schools.[3] Even though the 1997 issue is coming, the PRC's patriotic songs are not included in the formal music curriculum. By contrast, the Chinese History subject has introduced Form 3 students to the national anthem of the PRC under the topic of the establishment of the PRC authorities in 1949. The view on cultural and political struggles reflected here is that the song is seen as dangerous in an overtly cultural context; but safe when harnessed to a state-controlled framework, such as the Chinese History curriculum, i.e. the song is viewed as a historical text. Therefore, this thesis suggests that the formal music education system is more "closed" than the socio-political structures and than other parts of the Hong Kong secondary curriculum. Over and above the question of how open or closed the Hong Kong curriculum is, there is also the complex question of how political significance and power change in different curriculum contexts.

In sum, the challenge to music education can be seen to be the result of the interaction of two dynamic forces. First, this is formed by the political changes and the promotion of democratic Chinese popular songs in other social institutions. Second, another challenge to the bureaucratic Hong Kong music education system is the democratisation of other parts of the secondary curriculum in Hong Kong. Hong Kong music education can be considered in relation to its socio-political development and examined as a unit in terms of politics, economic and cultural processes which will be further discussed in the next section.

8.4 MUSIC AS A SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION

This section firstly offers an appraisal of Lucy Green's theory of delineated musical meaning (1988) and redefines the range of delineated musical meaning with reference to the cases of China and Hong Kong. It secondly returns to my work on music as a social construction within the wider perspective of Green's delineated musical meaning.

8.4.1 A Critical Appraisal of Green's Theory of Delineated Musical Meaning

The thesis has argued that the concept of Green's delineated musical meaning varies in the range of possible social conventions between democratic and undemocratic countries.[4] This thesis does not assert that there is no "delineated" musical meaning of the music education systems of the undemocratic countries, but that "delineated" musical meaning must be understood in terms of different levels between democratic and

undemocratic countries. To some extent, the range of the individual consciousness of music within the collective socio-political and/or cultural consciousness of democratic countries is different from that in undemocratic countries. The celebration of musical experience also varies in the dimension of personal and social encounters between democratic and undemocratic countries. Nevertheless, this thesis does not focus on individuals' personal and subjective experience of musical meaning which is multiple and difficult to predict. Rather, the musical meanings upon which I have concentrated are those which are controlled by state forces.

The democratic countries (such as the United States of America and Western European countries) provide means for individual expression, personal freedom and democratic involvement in an open political and socio-economic system. The concept of "self" is recognised in music making and the dynamic multicultural music curriculum also offers the possibility of developing appreciation in relation to world music. Pupils are encouraged to develop personal feelings and emotions, as well as to cultivate social awareness and cultural identity in an educational setting. Unlike in the democratic countries, the inclination of delineated musical meaning is conditioned by the totalitarian states, such as Soviet Russia, the former socialist countries in Central and Eastern Europe, North Korea, communist China, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and the colony of Hong Kong. The political organisation of these states is typically a bureaucracy which is instrumental in constraining the influence of democracy in society. The state can regulate certain forms of music education for political reasons.

Certain musical types are monopolised for political purposes in the music education systems. The content of musical knowledge is always organised in such a way as to avoid conflicts between the belief systems, political systems and communal systems in the undemocratic states.

Apart from controlled musical contexts, explicit music valuation in Hong Kong music education is founded to a considerable extent on intellectual processes which connect with the "inherent" musical meaning (e.g. musical elements, forms and styles), rather than the cultivation of "delineated" musical meaning in the wider social perspective. Although creative music making is suggested as an additional activity to encourage pupils' self-expression through experiencing and exploring musical material,[5] the identification of "self" and the social dynamics relating to musical values are narrow in the British colonial music education. According to my analysis of the sixty questionnaires in the survey, the promotion of creative music and Hong Kong music including contemporary and popular music was not highly recognised by most respondents. There were forty percent of the respondents (i.e. 24 teachers) who taught creative music in schools. Only thirteen percent of the respondents (i.e. 8 teachers) taught Hong Kong "serious" music. Thirty-seven percent of them (i.e. 22 teachers) taught Hong Kong "popular" music. The social construction of musical responses (such as cultural conventions, social consciousness and individual freedom) limited the range of explicit "delineated" musical meanings in the Hong Kong music curriculum.

Despite these different articulations of the theory of delineated

musical meaning between Western and Eastern countries, Green's Western concept of delineated meaning does become more appropriate to the Hong Kong musical phenomenon during and after the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident. The 1989 student protest in Tiananmen Square has influenced the very different sorts of democratisation in China and Hong Kong societies. In music, this began with the popular Chinese rock band led by Cuī Jiàn whose music was presented as a patriotic discourse but was deemed by the PRC state to carry subversive political meaning against the PRC authorities. Hong Kong people felt sympathy with the mainland Chinese and discovered their affinity with them. Through the awakening resulting from the 1989 June 4th Incident, Hong Kong songwriters and lyricists started to include the issues of human rights and democracy in Hong Kong popular music. The song "All For Freedom" marked the first time in Hong Kong history that Cantonese popular songs were promoted as a political protest for democracy. Chinese and Hong Kong political and democratic popular songs have became a channel for people to challenge the PRC government, as well as undemocratic colonial rule. Consequently, the introduction of freedom, political pluralism and human rights takes place through the mediation of music in other social institutions, as well as the extra-curricular activities of Hong Kong secondary schools. The power of this music can be seen as a living proof of the uniqueness of an individual's consciousness within the local and national communities in the transmission of political freedom and democracy.

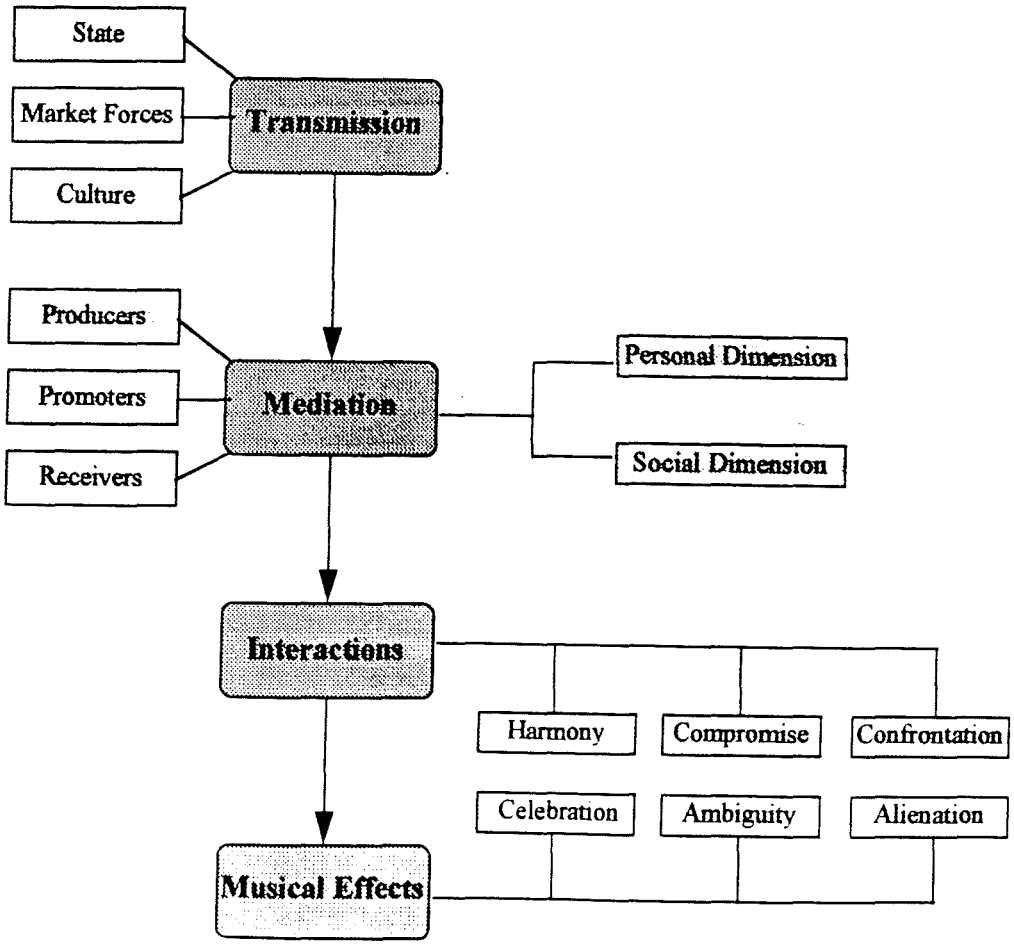
Besides the influence of political forces in the understanding of

delineated musical meaning, market and cultural forces also shape the understanding of delineated musical meaning. In the next section, a model will be offered for the understanding of music as a social construction as an addendum to Green's theory of delineated musical meaning.

8.4.2 Theory of The Social Construction of Music

In this section, four levels of musical communication will be discussed within the conceptual framework of music education: (1) the transmission of music; (2) the mediation of music; (3) the interactions of music; and (4) the musical effects.

Figure 8.1 Music as a Social Construction



8.4.2.1 Level 1: The transmission of music within the state, economy and culture as macro-forces

The thesis has argued that music is a political, economic and cultural artifact and the model illustrates this. Although state policy may result in multiple levels of conflict between political ideology, economic business and cultural transmission, it may also direct compromises between them. According to the data of many comparative political sociologists over the past generation, authoritarian governments do not necessarily "hinder economic growth" (Madsen 1995: 13). For example, music can have international political and economic significances. The relationship between Cuī Jiàn and the PRC government, as proposed by Brace (1991: 55), "is an interesting example of the particular intersection of politics with economics which contributes heavily to the unstable character of life in China today." Brace also remarks that Cuī has his economic value to the PRC government. Cuī held a concert and helped the Chinese government to raise over a million Chinese dollars in February 1990 in the name of the Asian Games (ibid). The 1990 Asian Games in Beijing were an important political and social event for China, enabling it to boost its morale and confidence to restore its connections with the outside world, as well as to continue its "open-door" policy for its economic reforms after the 1989 June 4th Incident. With reference to the development of Chinese music, Chow (1990: 87) suggests that the relations between education, politics, economy and culture are close and he says, "if there is no powerful politics and economy behind, no powerful culture will appear" (translated by Ho Wai-chung).

In the case of Hong Kong music education, the market and cultural forces are always related to the state forces. The state policies towards Western classical music are an indicative factor in determining the construction of musical knowledge and meaning in Hong Kong formal music education. As the social and economic transformations have been pushed into the political arena, changes have occurred in the Hong Kong music curriculum in the area of political culture. The state of Hong Kong has imposed the significance of Western culture within and without the school environment in three spheres: (1) the production of Western classical music in the curriculum; (2) the approved music teachers' certificates based on training in Western classical music; and (3) the widely recognised music certificates provided by the Associated Board of Royal Schools of Music (ABRSM) and other music examinations held by other music colleges in Great Britain. As the examination results of the ABRSM and other recognised music colleges are regarded as part of the qualification to reach higher music education in Hong Kong, secondary students are keen on studying Western musical instruments. Traditional Western music is regarded as the core of official musical knowledge in schools and Hong Kong textbooks' publishers are mainly keen on producing the teaching/learning materials of this musical style for their commercial benefits. Since the 1980s, traditional Chinese music has been recommended in the Hong Kong music curriculum. Nevertheless, the "new China" music of Mao has not been encouraged because music should not carry explicitly party political ideology in formal music education.

The cultural policies of the Hong Kong Education Department maintain its cultural audiences (i.e. teachers and students) in the arena of Western classical music, but popular music cannot enjoy any institutional prestige in formal music education. Popular music is regarded as inauthentic, commercial and undeserving of significant support from the Department. However, in general the character of the economy in Hong Kong is that it is free market-governed outside the school environment. This is a system of private enterprises competing, having the characteristics of government non-intervention in the "commercial" sphere. The market of the music business is driven by choices made by producers and consumers in Hong Kong. During the early 1980s, the active economy, the flourishing music business, the process of modernisation of society, the political change of Hong Kong, as well as media technological advancement, initiated the rise of indigenous Hong Kong popular music. The emergence of an indigenous culture in the formation of Cantonese popular songs has widened the gap between music education taking place within state schools and musical culture outside the school environment. The cultures promoted by other social institutions are different from the school culture which embodies the forms and beliefs of the existing Hong Kong state, peculiar to one culture.

Moreover, the development of Hong Kong popular music has entered a stage of socio-political, economic and cultural conflict within and without the school environment as a result of the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident. Outside schools, the musical meaning of the Chinese democratic popular

songs is seen as a symbolic struggle in the political, cultural, economic and national arena. Nevertheless, such musical meaning is constrained within the interactions between music industry and the state policies. There have always been attempts to control musical meaning for the purpose of political repression at the expense of economic and cultural benefits in the transmission of political and democratic popular songs. In order not to aggravate the PRC state and the future state of Hong Kong, the production of Hong Kong democratic songs has declined since the beginning of the 1990s.[6] The negative attitude of music teachers towards the promotion of Chinese democratic popular songs is also shown in the questionnaire-survey. Though twenty-seven out of sixty respondents agreed with each other that the advocation of political pluralism or political freedom through teaching democratic popular songs could be treated as part of civic education, some respondents believed that music should be seen as a-political in its nature in the curriculum.[7]

The interplay of socio-political, educational, economic and cultural forces has shaped contemporary Hong Kong music education. Hong Kong music education is overly a-political in its nature but it can be seen as a covert means to achieve political harmony in Hong Kong.

8.4.2.2 Level 2: The mediation of music between producers, promoters and receivers as micro-forces

The relationships between producers, promoters, and receivers (or audiences) are conceived as micro-forces in the second level of the music process. Music activities are central to the musical transaction, whether one

is involved as producer of the curriculum (such as the Hong Kong state and/or the Hong Kong Education Department), promoter (such as teachers), receiver or audience (such as pupils). Delineated musical meaning resides not only in the music's cultural and social settings, but also involves the receiver's personal experience associated with the music.

The process of constructing meaning in music results in multiple meanings for producers and receivers. Musical meaning can be contextualised and carries different interpretations in different arenas. For example, on May 27, 1989, Hóu Dé-jiàn sang his song "The Descendants of the Dragon" (Lóng De Chuán-rén) in the twelve-hour "Concert for Democracy in China" in Hong Kong and the musical meaning of this song was seen as symbolising a struggle for democracy on this occasion.[8] The same song, "The Descendants of the Dragon" was also sung by a Hong Kong artist Alan Tam for a fund raising concert for China's handicapped people in Beijing Workers' Stadium on July 29, 1995. I watched this television programme which was jointly produced by the Hong Kong TVB and China television channel, when staying in Hong Kong during the summer of 1995. In this context, when the song was performed before the Beijing authority, the musical meaning of this song was identified as the love of China and dedication to China.

From a similar perspective, the introduction of the PRC's national anthem in the Chinese History curriculum is safe in an overtly political and cultural context; but it is dangerous for formal music education to include political songs within the state-controlled framework in Hong Kong. There

is a contention between political considerations and struggles in different contexts of musical knowledge. The communicative power of music in an educational setting derives from the ways in which it is used to mediate between social (including political, cultural) and personal dimensions. The conflicts between social and personal constructs may result from different interpretations of musical meaning. How promoters, performers, and receivers create, interpret and respond to music depends upon the realisation and emphasis of personal, socio-political and cultural consciousness in the formation of particular musical styles in different contexts.

8.4.2.3 Level 3: The interactions of music

The meaning of music is something that is related to different interactions within music transmission. Individual consciousness was nourished within the collective apprehension of political experience during and after the 1989 June 4th Incident. As the Education Department remained silent on the subject of democratic education during and after the Incident, some teachers encouraged the introduction of democratic popular songs as part of civic education in schools. The concepts of freedom and democracy were disseminated amongst pupils through music in school assemblies and extra-curricular activities during and after the Incident.

However, to avoid offending any authority present or future, schools were conforming, subordinating to authority and discipline and they opposed the socio-politically and emotionally oriented behaviour expressed

in the democratic popular songs. Teachers were not allowed to promote this type of songs in schools. With the uncertain political future ahead of Hong Kong, the affinity of this music, on the one hand, is characterised as a "harmony" between Hong Kong and Mainland Chinese to fight for democracy and political freedom. On the other hand, the democratic popular songs operate as an "open confrontation" between Hong Kong people and the PRC authorities. However, the state of Hong Kong is a "compromise" with Hong Kong people (including Hong Kong school authorities) and does not enforce any regulations to stop the advocation of political pluralism and freedom in Hong Kong outside formal education. Thus the rise of local democratic and political songs acts as an open confrontation with the PRC government, as a compromise with the Hong Kong government, but as a harmony with Hong Kong and Mainland Chinese people.

In terms of the above musical interactions, this theory is specifically related to explicit democratic and political popular songs with their implicit political meanings in Hong Kong. The theory is associated with the rise of Hong Kong political/democratic songs in China and Hong Kong during and after the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident. In the next section, this thesis suggests that Green's theory is more appropriate to other kinds of musical styles.

8.4.2.4 Level 4: The musical effects

In the final level, this section attempts to use Green's tripartite musical experiences - namely, celebration, ambiguity and alienation - to

demonstrate the musical effects in relation to various degrees of musical meaning. This model of triple musical experience will be described in this section with reference to various musical styles taught in Hong Kong secondary schools.

When pupils are familiar with a musical style and affirmed by its inherent meanings, and when at the same time, they also bear a positive attitude towards delineated meanings, pupils then come to celebrate the music and experience the music positively both personally and socially. Hong Kong and Chinese democratic popular music, as the thesis has argued, have caught the stage of "harmony" in the political expectations of democracy for both mainland and Hong Kong Chinese during and after the 1989 June 4th Incident. When affirmative experience of the music's inherent meanings occurs with positive attitudes towards delineated meanings, Hong Kong and Mainland Chinese come to celebrate the individual temporal experience of the musical materials as well as the expression of political freedom and the issues of human rights in its delineated meanings. Pupils perform or listen to, and come to "celebrate" the music in informal school activities as well as in political rallies organised by the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic Democratic Movement in China (HKASPDMC). The celebration of democratic delineated musical meaning is cherished in the dynamic of personal experience, socio-political convictions and musical consciousness of the celebrants. However, this kind of "celebration" does not appear in Hong Kong formal music education because popular songs/political popular songs have never been

introduced in the curriculum.

For other musical styles such as Western and Chinese classical music, celebration can be found when pupils appear to experience these musical styles in terms of understanding the inherent meanings as well as having a positive identification with the music socially. In the survey, fifty-eight out of sixty respondents taught Western classical music and Western folk music but this does not indicate that they all taught both inherent and delineated musical meanings in schools. This also does not mean that all pupils experienced celebration of these two musical styles in these fifty-eight schools. All/most teachers may experience "celebration" with Western classical music but not all pupils have this experience in schools.

When aggravating experience of music's inherent meanings coincides with negative disposition towards its delineated meanings, music becomes an alienating experience. In the survey, most respondents did not teach Hong Kong serious music and some of them noted that they and/or their students had difficulties in understanding this musical style. Aggravated by its inherent meanings and negated by its delineations, Hong Kong serious music was not welcomed by most teachers (as mentioned earlier, only eight out of sixty respondents had serious music in their music lessons). Most Hong Kong music teachers and pupils had negative attitudes towards Hong Kong serious music. The musical effect of alienation results when pupils have difficulties in the understanding of inherent meanings of the music and negative attitudes towards the delineated meaning of the music. Pupils can neither affirm themselves in its inherent meanings, nor

positively label its delineations.

As shown in the survey, regardless of the suggestion that Chinese classical music should be taught in the curriculum, the musical value of Chinese classical music was not as highly regarded as that Western classical music in formal music education. Thirty-seven out of sixty respondents taught Chinese classical music. Some respondents did not feel confidence to teach Chinese classical music or they personally did not have an interest in this musical style. The musical background and attitudes of teachers may result in the musical experience of "alienation" among pupils in formal music education. Most pupils are likely to have this musical experience of "alienation" towards Chinese classical music as they have difficulties in understanding the inherent musical meanings and cannot positively identify with the delineated meaning of the music. In the same situation, some pupils also have the musical effect of alienation towards Western classical music as they have problems in understanding its inherent meaning and have negative attitudes towards this musical style.

As suggested by Green (1988), there are two types of ambiguous musical experiences: (1) inherent meanings are affirmative but delineated meanings are negative; and (2) inherent meanings are aggravating but delineated meanings are positive. In either circumstance, pupils cannot experience the dual musical meanings. The Hong Kong Education Department remains neutral in the introduction of popular music and democratic education and makes a "compromise" with school authorities. Some teachers do encourage the promotion of Chinese democratic songs in

schools. Nevertheless, the delineated musical meaning may result in "ambiguity" among the interactions of teachers and pupils. Some teachers only promote this type of music for its social content. They have positive identification with delineated meanings of Chinese democratic songs but they do not teach the inherent meanings of Chinese democratic songs because they find that it is not worthwhile to teach the inherent meanings of popular music. This case has been shown among the respondents of Schools 14, 26, 29, 38, 44, 49, 52 & 53. Although these respondents did not say that they did not teach the inherent meaning of Chinese democratic popular songs, they emphasised the delineated musical meaning of this musical style to help pupils make sense of the changing society of Hong Kong (see the analysis of "Delineated musical meaning of Chinese democratic popular songs" in Chapter Seven, pp.314-315). Pupils have their personal inclination and/or political incentive to sing democratic songs in schools but the teachers believe that the pupils do not understand the inherent meanings of the music. In the other situation, some teachers only deal with the intrinsic value of the inherent materials of Western and Chinese classical music but they do not teach the delineated musical meanings of these musical styles. Pupils' musical experience cannot be understandable in respect of collective social meanings. Under these circumstances, students will fall into "ambiguity" in experiencing the music.

To conclude, music is constructed by the state, market and cultural forces and mediated by producers, promoters and receivers within the personal and collective social consciousness of the community. This brings

various degrees of musical interactions and musical effects which result in different ranges of delineated musical meaning. This thesis offers a more delicate understanding of Lucy Green's range of possible conventional delineations with reference to the music education systems of China and Hong Kong states. Particularly, the thesis is an application of Green's theory to the special situation of Hong Kong music education. As far as the content of Hong Kong music education is concerned, musical meaning is in conflict with evolving positions within politics and educational ideologies.

The limitation of the theory depends on the influence of the state forces shaping the attitude of its people in the experience of delineated musical meaning. Under political indoctrination/political education, people are trained to experience the stage of "harmony" with the publicly expressed musical meaning advocated by the Chinese state and they explicitly come to "celebrate" the musical materials. This case has been demonstrated for people to "celebrate" the eight-model Revolutionary Opera plays in China during the Cultural Revolution (1967-1976). Being politically educated and accommodating themselves to certain musical styles, people do maintain harmonic relationships with the Chinese state and experience the musical meaning of "celebration" in Green's theory. Nevertheless, these musical attitudes of people towards celebration of music have been moulded. Thus the writer of the thesis refers to this kind of musical interaction and effect as the "subordinate" of harmony and celebration.

Finally, some suggestions are made about the broader implications of the work of this thesis in understanding music education in other Asian countries.

8.5 THE BROADER IMPLICATIONS OF THE THESIS FOR MUSIC EDUCATION

The thesis has proposed that the music education systems of Imperial China, Communist China and Hong Kong are institutional "knowledge enterprises" rooted in and governed by historical, political, economic and cultural contexts. It has argued that music is a social construction which is shaped by the state, as well as market and cultural forces, and that the state is a principal actor in defining the content of music education and manipulating the meaning of musical knowledge in the school curriculum. To some extent, music education in Asian countries has developed in contexts different from those of Western countries. This thesis suggests that this view can be tested in future research on the struggles between political development, economic advancement, and cultural identity in the music education systems of other undemocratic countries (such as North Korea, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam) or semi-democratic countries (such as Singapore, Malaysia, Taiwan, Thailand, South Korea, Philippines).

Although most parts of Asia have been moving towards a more representative political system, their democracies are not as "full" as those of Western countries. Most Asian states have distanced themselves from the mode of liberal democratic and political organisation of the West. Even in 1993, Lee Kuan Yew, former Prime Minister of Singapore, declared that the

"ideal standard" established in the UN Declaration of Human Rights (including the governing power of the state based on the will of the people as periodically expressed through free elections) was "unrealistic and unachievable" in all countries (Hassall & Cooney 1993: 2). The dimension of democracy of most Asian countries has been categorised as "semi-democracy" or "quasi-democracy" which does not take the form of Western liberal democracies.[9] In semi-democratic settings, as argued by Diamond, Linz, and Lipset (1990: 8), the "freedom and fairness of elections are so compromised that electoral outcomes, while competitive, still deviate significantly from popular preferences."

One of the sub-groups of the semi-democratic countries includes countries whose organisation is similar to Hong Kong (for example, Singapore, Thailand, Malaysia, Taiwan, South Korea) with state-dominated, authoritarian règimes but in which people can enjoy a high degree of freedom. Government is regarded as being the legislative and executive body to exercise political and social powers. Constitutions in most Asian countries also empower the state to execute its authorities, rather than provide civil rights for individuals. Since its independence in 1959, Singapore has been ruled by the People's Action Party (PAP). The persistence of the authoritarian régime in Singapore has been shaped by the PAP in its political development of a one-party state.[10] Despite its federal system, the strong political control of the dominant political grouping, the United Malays National Organisation (UMNO), was featured in the structures of the Malaysian government in the early 1990s.[11]

According to Crouch (1993: 136), the political system of Malaysia is neither fully authoritarian nor fully democratic but accommodates components of both. Before 1987, Taiwan was subject to one-party domination under the Kuomintang (KMT). The acceleration of democratisation in Taiwan was closely related to the lifting of martial law in 1987 and the emergence of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) which unified most opposition politicians in 1986. However, the KMT and the DPP are hostile to each other, making further democratisation difficult (Robinson, Arnold & Shime 1991: 3). In Korea, an open and genuinely competitive presidential election campaign took place unprecedentedly in 1988. The election in late 1992 of the Korean President Kim Young Sam, the first non-military President, has been honoured by Koreans in the succession of democratisation in the history of Korean political development.[12] As noted by Robinson, Arnold & Shime (1991: 13), the main barrier to democratisation in Korea is the "bureaucracy's resistance to change".[13]

Moreover, economic growth has been widely accepted as an indication of national development as well as a compromise with political beliefs. The state bureaucracy and state control over economic development have been deeply rooted in both Chinese and Korean history. A number of Asian scholars argue that the economic growth of some East Asian countries in the last twenty years is due to "a significant debt to the survival of 'Asian' or 'neo-Confucian' values" (Jones 1993: 30). Crovitz (1995: 26) also identifies these Asian values as "hard work, thrift and reliance on family not on government" which can be called [the components] of "Confucian capitalism"

experienced in many parts of Asia (also see Simone & Feraru 1995: 184). The underlying principle that accounted for East Asia's economic growth was related to its high levels of saving and investment. In 1965 the saving rate of East Asia was about 22 percent of GDP. By 1991, it had risen to 35 percent which was estimated to be about 60 percent more than the average for industrial countries.[14] The rapid economic expansion of Japan after the devastation of World War II, and the rapid transformation of Hong Kong from the mid-1940s, South Korea and Taiwan from the early 1950s and Singapore from the late 1960s have marked significant advancements of industrial growth. In the 1970s and 1980s, Hong Kong, South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore championed their economic growth in export-oriented industrialisation policies and national income distribution. These four Asian countries became known as Asia's "Four New Japans," or "Four Tigers," or "Four Little Dragons." According to Jeong (1991: 17), the economies of the Asian Newly Industrialised Countries (NICs) (such as "The Four Little Dragons) have achieved one of the highest growth rates in the world during the past three decades. Nevertheless, the nature of the East Asian economies was not accompanied by a corresponding "domestic liberal policy" (Jayasuriya 1994: 146). Most newly industrialising East Asia countries, as noted by Madsen (1995: 14), have strong, authoritarian governments to "establish the order needed to provide a safe climate for foreign investment." The authoritarian governments of these NICs have strengthened their rule through the promotion of economic growth (Simone & Feraru 1995: 184-185). Alternatively, political transitions are regulated

fundamentally by the socio-economic change that facilitates capitalist economic development. However, Casse and Lauridsen (1989: 198) question whether capitalism and democracy will "go hand in hand" in the long run, particularly in the Third World Countries.

Despite the transforming power of democracy and economic development, the weight of history and culture remains enormous in Asian countries. Taiwan, Singapore and Hong Kong possess "an overwhelming majority of ethnic Chinese in their population" (Tai 1989: 7). Hofstede (1984: 150) recognises that the Chinese-majority societies of Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore place less emphasis upon individualism than countries in the Western world. South Koreans also believe that they have stronger ties with traditional Chinese influence, rather than with China itself (Tai 1987: 7). Owing to the Confucian influence in Korea's political culture, elites have adopted a "moralistic and hierarchical view of their role" which impedes the development of democracy in Korea (Kim 1994: 182). Asian cultures, as identified by Alan Rice (1993: 11), "lacked an individualist [ethos]" and were "non-secular in orientation, status was ascribed not earned, and political institutions were authoritarian rather than democratic." The notions of individual needs and individual choices are simply absent in traditional Asian cultures. The matter of "self" is apparently influenced and/or suppressed by socio-political convictions. Hence, in an interview with the *Economist* in June 1991, Lee Kuan Yew proposed that "political understanding in Asia stems from radically different historical and cultural experience" (Jones 1993: 19). The importance of "self-

esteem" in undemocratic or semi-democratic countries, as the writer has argued, is apparently lower as an explicit good, than in the democratic countries.

Despite the length, the cultural stability intensifying the power of the authority of the Asian states, most of the Asian states also respond to Western impact and challenge in their historical development. The historical and cultural development in most Asian countries is related to the consequence of international influences, particularly an Anglo-American legacy. The other Asian countries share some similar patterns with Hong Kong as their historical contexts are rooted in Confucianism[15] even though many (such as Taiwan, South Korea, Singapore) were colonised by other foreign countries.[16] For example, people were raised under Confucian education and were used to obeying their state authorities in Taiwan and South Korea (Cassee & Lauridsen 1989: 200). Taiwan and South Korea were also under the colonial rule of Japan from the beginning of the twentieth century and to the end of the Second World War respectively.[17] Taiwan has maintained its separation from Communist China with military backing by the United States since the establishment of the PRC in 1949. The Philippines was a colony of the United States until 1945 and its democratisation was induced by American forces. In the 1950s, the power of the United States has been instrumental in pressuring the possibility of democratic movements for South Korea, Taiwan, and the Philippines; and Britain did the same in Malaysia and Singapore. The political changes, economic development, cultural and historical roots of South East Asian

countries have influenced the development of music education.

With reference to music education, most Asian countries have centralised musical systems. The features of these are a standard curriculum, public examinations and set texts that are in line with government stipulations. For example, the politicians in Singapore exercise their authority in educational policies so as to promote social coherence and national identity.[18] The Ministry of Education in Thailand controls the music curricular content at all levels of education from kindergarten to higher education, striking a balance between an emphasis on Thai and on Western music. Higher music education in Thailand is under the joint administration of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of University Affairs (Suttachitt 1992: 33). The control of musical meaning is explicitly regarded as an item of administration and rational planning of the state. Musical meaning as experienced in semi-democratic Asian states does not delineate in the same ways as in democratic countries. However, controlled musical content and musical meaning in formal music education are also included in democratic countries. A striking example can be found in the music education system in Britain, which moved from decentralisation to centralisation policies during the 1990s when the National Curriculum for music was put forward between 1991 and 1992. With this, British music education for the first time was centralised, centred on a publicly declared music curriculum within a formal educational framework. The rationale behind the National Curriculum was to improve minimum, measurable standards; however, the selection of taught works was a political decision

which is an alien concept to British educationalists who are used to choosing from a rich variety of interests. "The very public nature of the debates concerning what should count as school music," as argued by Shepherd and Vulliamy (1994: 27), "exemplify an ideological struggle concerning the nature of 'Englishness' and what should lie at the heart of English culture."

Therefore, the conceptual structure of music education is shaped by the social contexts in which the political ideologies of all countries function. As music has "meaning" which is dialectically constructed by social settings at a profound level through the operation of the state, the meaning of music asserts the necessity of some sort of "compromise" between the producers, promoters and receivers. Music can be celebrated by people under circumstances when positive musical meaning is delineated by producers and/or promoters in educational establishments. Some of the links between the economies, cultures and politics in Asian societies have emerged in the construction of music education. Whether music education reforms in Asian states are in the stage of "harmony", "confrontation" or "compromise" between the state policy, the central value system, and the market-governed economy, and/or in intra-cultural conflict with the rest, are questions that could be examined in future research.

8.6 CONCLUDING COMMENTS

The thesis has demonstrated that music as a social construction is seen in the music education systems in Imperial China, contemporary China and

contemporary Hong Kong and music has been used as a socio-political function to maintain social harmony in their curricula. This thesis also suggested that the music education system of Hong Kong is a historical and political force, as well as accommodating economic and cultural forces. Nevertheless, the determinants of developing music education in Hong Kong mainly rest on the issues of politics and not so much on the issues of the values of education, popular culture, and democratic education.

The late 1980s and the early 1990s witnessed a range of policy initiatives in the Hong Kong political sector and the overall educational system, which have challenged bureaucratic music education in terms of musical knowledge and musical meaning. In the concluding section, the writer of the thesis attempts to highlight two dimensions which have challenged the existing Hong Kong music education in terms of the content of musical knowledge and the concept of musical meanings including the introduction of political meaning in the music curriculum during the transitional period.[19]

First, considering that the 1997 question has intensified, the cultural crisis will continue to be heightened in Hong Kong within the school environment. In order to strike a balance between traditional Chinese music, Western classical music, contemporary Hong Kong classical music, and popular music or other musical styles in the curriculum, cultural adjustments are required through curricular innovations. Improvements also need to be made in the spheres of teachers' training and resources development. With the political transformation, more cross-border music

educational exchange after 1997 between Hong Kong and Mainland China seems certain. It is highly likely that more mainland Chinese musicians will come to Hong Kong and contribute to the development of Chinese music in Hong Kong. However, Hong Kong music education will still be faced with the loss of its cultural identities in the transmission of Hong Kong indigenous and popular cultures. The emphasis on classical music education in the curriculum does not reflect the fact that if there were more resources used to promote popular music then this could well be commercially successful. If the Hong Kong music curriculum allowed itself to be subjected to market forces, (i.e. were privatised), then the music industry would invest more in the development of Hong Kong higher music education and/or give more financial support to students studying popular music. Hong Kong music education might lead to marketisation. Nevertheless, a balance should be struck between classical and popular music.

Secondly, the concept of "positive" and "negative" musical meaning of official musical knowledge has been challenging the existing Hong Kong music education system. For the Hong Kong state (or the Hong Kong Education Department), Western classical music is treated as having "positive" musical meaning whilst popular music carries "negative" musical meaning in the formal music curriculum. With the rise of Hong Kong political/democratic popular songs during and after the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident, for the first time in Hong Kong history some teachers labelled Chinese democratic popular songs as carrying "positive" musical meanings and ignored the "accepted" musical meaning promoted by the

Chinese and Hong Kong states. However, for the China state, the musical meaning of Chinese/Hong Kong democratic popular songs is "negative" and "unofficial". For the post-1997 Hong Kong music education system, the future state of Hong Kong will explicitly define the "accepted" music meanings and implicitly delineate the "positive" musical meaning in the music curriculum. The struggles between "positive" and "negative" musical meaning will continue to persist within and without the school environment during the transitional period as well as in the future state of Hong Kong.

As the transformation of political structures into one China with two systems has become an essential objective of post-Mao Chinese policy, Hong Kong music education was found itself in conflict not only with the balance between the transmission of traditional Chinese and Western cultures, but also the introduction of Chinese political/patriotic songs promoted by the PRC state. The thesis has also demonstrated that Chinese popular songs have been used as political propaganda throughout this century, including the promotion of nationalistic/patriotic songs against foreign aggression in the 1910s, mass songs against the Japanese aggression during the 1930s and before the mid 1940s, revolutionary/patriotic songs during the Mao period/Cultural Revolution, and political/democratic songs in both China and Hong Kong during and after the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident.[20] The impact of Chinese political popular songs as political propaganda on the Chinese music curriculum has been shown during the war time as well as the Mao period. Chinese political popular songs are safe within a state-controlled framework in the Chinese music education system but they are

seen as carrying dangerous political ideology in the Hong Kong music education system. The musical meaning transmitted in schools will be based on the principles which foster communist ethics, love for the motherland and loyalty to the PRC authorities.[21] On 10th June 1996, the "Song for 1997" was in the news bulletin published by the Hong Kong Federation of Education Workers (Pro-Beijing) and this shows the recent development of a political dimension outside the formal music education system in Hong Kong. The translation of the "Song for 1997" is as follows:

"Mountains are rejoicing, and the seas are dancing.
The seas of Hong Kong and the mountains of Kowloon are closely linked with the heart of the homecountry (PRC).

The national flag is flying, and the people's hearts are stimulated.
Hong Kong people and hearts from overseas sing joyfully along the Yellow and Yangtze Rivers day and night.

Stand tall. The Chinese people are taking off.
Welcome 97, one-country, two systems, peaceful unification.
This is our common dream.
Let us head towards prosperity and national strength."[22]

This song was sung in some left-wing (Pro-Beijing) schools in Hong Kong and is seen to be a means of promoting civic education in future schools' celebration activities for the handover before and after 1997. After 1997, the national anthem of the PRC, according to the Basic Law, will also be formally adopted in Hong Kong society. The existing a-political nature of Hong Kong music education is in tension between political pluralism and political "prescription" (selection of political ideologies or values in national anthems by national founders or leaders for their followers or citizens or the ruled) which appear to delineate the meaning of the national anthem as part of the content of civic education.

However, this thesis has not discussed the dimension of the musical meaning of political education and its effects on formal Hong Kong music education and their compromises or confrontation with the central value system of Hong Kong over the transitional period as well as in the future state of Hong Kong. These issues are worth further research in Hong Kong music education. At the moment of finishing the thesis, the current decentralisation policy in Hong Kong education may make it difficult for the future state of Hong Kong to have centralised policies for the political functions of music education. As also reflected in the survey, the introduction of political popular songs in the curriculum is also a problem that Hong Kong music education is refusing to face. How the balance between the cultural and political impositions of music education in the future Hong Kong will be affected by these recent developments remains to be seen after 1997.

ENDNOTES FOR PART ONE

1. Localisation is the development of Hong Kong-Chinese control over Hong Kong's administration. For the localisation of senior civil administration, the Hong Kong Government decided to limit to not more than two foreign officers promoted to be the head of the range grade A. For the localisation of academic administration, the key posts are being localised at the University Polytechnic. *Ming Pao*, June 17, 1994, P.A2; and *Ming Pao*, January 24, 1995, p.B7. The thesis also suggests that localisation in Hong Kong is a means to decentralise the administration of informal music education in governmental policies and to promote Chinese music and Chinese teaching materials of formal music education; whilst in other social institutions, such as market-controlled external musical production and consumption, localisation refers to the promotion of indigenous Hong Kong popular and classical music. The writer will further discuss this view in Chapter Three (pp.105-125), and Chapter Five (pp.214-220).

2. Hong Kong entered an era of decolonization following the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration on December 19, 1984 between Premier Zhao Ziyang and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. This formalised arrangements for the transfer of Hong Kong's sovereignty to the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1997. The Joint Declaration allowed the PRC to realize its long-standing goal of national reunification. See *A Draft Agreement between the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of the People's Republic of China on the future of Hong Kong*, Hong Kong: Government Printer, 26 September 1984; Das, Rup Narayan, "Hong Kong: An Experiment in One Country, Two Systems" in *China Report*, Vol.29, No.2, April-June 1993, p.153; and Cottrell, Robert (1993) *The End of Hong Kong: The Secret Diplomacy of Imperial Retreat*, Cambridge University Press, pp.205-223 (The Sino-British Joint Declaration on the Question of Hong Kong).

3. Tiananmen Square is situated in Beijing, capital of Mainland China. The 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident was not the first expression of democratic ideas to have occurred in China. Since the 1978 Deng Xiaoping's liberalisation reform in arts and culture, a "free speech" or "democracy movement" began in Beijing. According to the Staff of Article 19 (1989: 132-133), most of the participants in the late 1970s democratic movement in China were former Red Guards who used *dazibao* (wall-posters) and printed unofficial pamphlets as propaganda for democratic reforms. The best known of their publications were *Exploration, Beijing Spring, April 5 Forum* and

Today. However, the democracy movement was shortlived. In April 1981, according to Amnesty International, at least twenty editors of these unofficial publications were arrested (Staff of the Article, 1988:133). The 1989 June 4th Incident provoked markedly different descriptions and approaches from the press of the West and Chinese authorities respectively. The incident of June 4, 1989 in Tiananmen Square was regarded as a students' movement by the Western press but as a counter revolutionary movement against the PRC government by the China state. Students who were mostly of Beijing University asked to work with the government on anti-corruption measures and for the advocation of democracy in freedom of speech, of assembly, and of the press. The anger of the masses in Mainland China against corruption, and the growing inequalities between workers and officials provoked students to organise large-scale demonstrations against the Chinese government. On April 15, 1989, Chinese student protests broke out to mourn the death of the former Party General Secretary Hu Yaohang. On May 4, the Party General Secretary, Zhao Ziyang said that the students' movement could be recognised as a "disturbance" movement but it was not a serious attempt to overthrow the Chinese government. However, Premier Li Peng had a different interpretation of the students' movement. On May 20, Premier Li imposed martial law in Beijing, and Zhao was dismissed by the Politburo. On May 20-30, a group of arts students made a 33-foot tall statue in Tiananmen Square. The statue was modelled on the Statue of Liberty in New York harbour. As more Chinese students came from various parts of China gathering in the Square, Chinese troops and tanks made their way to Tiananmen Square during the late hours of June 3 and the early hours of June 4. After students had occupied Tiananmen Square for six weeks, Premier Li ordered the troops to the Square. Western sources estimated that there were 3,000 dead and 10,000 or more wounded. Later *The New York Times* reported the death toll to be 400 to 800. *The New York Times,* June 12, 13, 21, 1989, p.A6. Also see Kwan Ha-yim (ed.) (1991), *China Under Deng*, New York: Facts On File; Luk, Bernard H.K., "Education" in Wong, Richard Y.C. & Cheng, Joseph Y.S. (1990), *The Other Hong Kong Report:1990*, Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, pp.361-394; and Chan, Joseph Man & Lee Chih-Chuan (1991), *Mass Media and Political Transition: The Hong Kong Press In China's Orbit*, New York: The Guilford Press, pp.115-118; Hsü, Immanuel C.Y. (1990), *The Rise of Modern China*, 4th Edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.932-935; Delfs, Robert, "Tiananmen Square" in *Far Eastern Economic Review*, June 15, 1989, pp.10-13; and The Staff of Ariticle 19 (1988), *Information, Freedom and Censorship by the Article 19 World Report 1988*, Essex: Longman, pp.132-133.

4. According to *Hong Kong 1995: A Review of 1994* (p.16), there are three main types of secondary schools in Hong Kong: grammar, technical and prevocational. The grammar schools provide a five-year secondary course offering academic, cultural and practical subjects for students taking the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination (HKCEE) and most of them offer a two-year sixth form course for students taking the Hong Kong A-level Examinations. The technical schools emphasise technical and commercial subjects and qualified candidates of the HKCEE can continue their education in the sixth form or in technical institutes. The prevocational schools emphasise practical and technical subjects and qualified candidates of the HKCEE can continue their studies to the sixth form, or a course in a technical college or technical institute (ibid). Most educational establishments are in the public sector and are operated by the non-profit-making voluntary bodies which receive public funds under a code of aid but the government directly administers a small proportion of primary and secondary schools (*Hong Kong 1995: A Review of 1994*, p.15). The comprehensive, publicly-funded system of technical education and vocational training is given by the statutory Vocational Training Council (VTC) (ibid). Tertiary institutions are autonomous statutory bodies and seven of them have public funds through the University Grants Committee (UGC) (ibid). These seven tertiary institutions include the Hong Kong University, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, the Hong Kong Baptist University, the City University of Hong Kong, the Hong Kong University of Science & Technology, Lingnan College, and the Open Learning Institute of Hong Kong (Cheng 1995: 260-261). For the illustration of the structure of Hong Kong education, see Appendix One.

5. For example, Susanne Langer (1957) as a philosopher sees music as a form of presentational symbolism that can convey musical meaning. She states that music does not have a true meaning and music is not the symptomatic expression of feelings but a symbolisation of the forms of feelings. Leonard Meyer as a musicologist attacks the concept of universalism - the belief that responses to music are natural and universal. Rather, he is convinced that they are the product of learning and experience. Meyer (1956) suggests there are differences between absolute and referential musical meanings, the former being based on the listeners' understanding and perception of formal musical structures while the latter is based upon the emotions and feelings or other ideas aroused by the musical structures. He also refers to these two modes of musical meaning as "embodied meaning" and "designative meaning" respectively. The musicologist Derek Cooke (1959) emphasises that emotion forms an essential part of the meaning of music. He uses intervals and melodic passages for expressing certain emotions, and explores the differences of feelings shown by major and minor. Some sociologists, such as John Shepherd

(1977), take an alternative position and argue that music represents a vehicle by which the society is expressed. Reflecting this view, music is affected by social forces or it reflects the structure of society. Given that music is a living process, the emphasis on interrelationships between music and society must be between the diverse forms of human behaviour. John Blacking (1973) as a social anthropologist argues that musical meanings are assigned by the social and cultural context in which they are found. Music remains one of the main cultural artifacts to convey communications to society. Music and society will not be banished from each other, they mutually exist. He argues that musical meanings are assigned by the social and cultural context in which they are found.

6. There is a question whether the meaning of music is the same as in language. For me, music cannot be a nonverbal language. Musical phrasing is not a sentence, and its elements cannot be distinguished by noun phrase/verb phrase (or pronoun, verb or adjective) to analyse its musical meaning. I conceive that language "states" meanings whereas music "expresses" them. Eco emphasises that "music, unlike language with its pure system of double articulation, is a system of differential and multiple articulation" (Eco 1979: 228-37). I would rather say musical syntax cannot be understood as a unique grammar. Rules and grammar are not the only binding needs for meaningful music or for language. Even within a culture, people do speak ungrammatically and composers do disobey the traditional grammar/convention in their compositions such as composers in the twentieth century.

7. The definition of democratic and undemocratic countries is arguable and varies between Western and Eastern politicians and scholars. According to Giddens (1993: 331), "some of the main differences between types of democracy are those separating representative multi-party democracy, representative one-party democracy and participatory democracy" (or direct democracy). Giddens (1993: 331) states that even the former Soviet Union and the East European countries identified themselves as "democracies" and so does Mainland China today in the scope of representative one-party systems. "Democracy," as marked by Chang (1990: 65), is "an idea which is not universally applicable ....." Chang (1992: 186) also argues that "the concept of democracy is not easily transplantable from the West to the eastern nations and from country to country." In a general interpretation, the construction of democracy involves liberal participation and free elections. On the one hand, the elected body of representation is empowered to make decisions on behalf of the community. On the other hand, people can enjoy freedom of speech and the rights to criticise and oppose the government more or less openly. However, the undemocratic countries do not carry this form of political organisation and political freedom.

8. The only non-hierarchical interaction between people was that Confucius called "friends". The writer of the thesis will further discuss the hierarchical concept of the Confucian tradition in Chapter Two, pp.41-42.

9. The Civil War (1945-1949) broke out between the Kuomingtang (KMT) led by Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) led by Mao Zedong in China. The KMT was defeated and retreated to Taiwan. Chiang founded the Republic of China (ROC) on Taiwan. Mao established the Chinese People's Republic of China (PRC), with a capital in Beijing. The ROC advocates the teachings of Sūn Yìxiān and accepts capitalism and opposes communism as this was represented by the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the PRC; whereas the PRC upholds Chinese socialism, and resists capitalism as this was represented by the United States. Hsü, Immanuel C.Y. (1990) *The Rise of Modern China*, Fourth edition, New York: Oxford University Press, pp.619-644 (The Civic War 1945-1949); and Law, Wing-wah (1994) *The Higher Education Systems of the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China: A Comparative Study*, unpublished Ph.D thesis, London: Institute of Education, University of London, pp.14-19.

10. In the 1980s, instructions, education, entertainment, recreation and other activities which were described as "prejudicial to the public interest or the welfare of the pupils...." were not allowed in schools without the approval of the Director of the Education Department (*Education Regulations*, No.98 (1) & (2)). Nevertheless, the 1980s' education regulations did not specifically refer to those songs bearing political opposition against the PRC authorities. However, most schools did not encourage teachers and students to sing political and/or democratic songs during and after the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident. The *1993 Education Regulations* were altered and did not explicitly state that political or partly political activities were not allowed in schools. In Chapter Five, the writer of the thesis will further discuss the democratisation of the Hong Kong education regulations during the 1990s.

11. In November 1982, the Secretary of State, Sir Keith Joseph, announced the GCSE examination system which would replace the separate GCE and CSE examinations (Roy 1987: 12). One specific aim of the GCSE music examination is "to develop a perceptive, sensitive, and critical response to music of different styles in a cultural and historical context" (Wyatt 1987: 98-99). The assessment of GCSE is based on the national criteria, decided by the Department of Education and Science (DES). For further information about the background of CSE and GCSE, see Horton, Tim (1986) "Introduction: Vacillation and Vision" in Horton, Tim (ed.) *GCSE: Examining The New System*, London: Harper & Row Ltd, pp. vii-x; Murphy, Roger

(1986) "A Changing Role for Examination Boards?" in Horton, Tim (ed.) *GCSE: Examining The New System*, London: Harper & Row Ltd, pp.3-11; Kingdon, Michael & Stobart, Gordon (1988) *GCSE Examined*, London: The Falmer Press, pp.1-34; and Roy, Walter (1986) "The Teacher Viewpoint" in Horton, Tim (ed.) *GCSE: Examining The New System*, London: Harper & Row Ltd, pp.12-20. For detailed information about the GCSE music examination, see Wyatt, Simon (1987) "Music" in North, Joanna (ed.) *The GCSE: An Examination*, London: The Claridge Press, pp.97-112.

12. For the background of British music education after the first half of the twentieth century, particularly the inclusion of popular music in the curriculum, see Green (1988: 45-55); Swanwick & Sarah (1979: 3-15); Vulliamy & Shepherd (1984: 247-266); and Vulliamy & Shepherd (1994: 28-29).

13. According to Farmer (1984: 53), schools were free to develop their own CSE curricula. In Mode III, the teaching materials and the examination processes were determined by the teachers and schools were not to follow the examining board's published necessarily curriculum. However, the examining board would moderate the results after teachers finished marking their students' papers. Also see Green (1988: 151-Note 16).

14. Hong Kong was ceded to the British by China under the Treaty of Nanjing on August 29th, 1842. The Nanjing Treaty was the first of the "unequal Treaties" imposed on China. By Article III of the Treaty of Nanjing, the island of Hong Kong was ceded to Britain in 1842. For detailed information about the background of the Treaty of Nanjing (1842), see Gerald Segal (1993), *The Fate of Hong Kong*, London: Simon & Schuster, pp.8-13; Hsü, Immanuel C.Y. (1990), *The Rise of Modern China*, Fourth edition, New York: Oxford University Press, Inc, pp.168-195; Endacott, G.B. (1964), *A History of Hong Kong*, Third Edition, Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, pp.14-34.

15. For the first half of the twentieth century, formal music education did not exist in Hong Kong secondary schools and informal music education was mainly promoted by missionaries in schools. After entering the 1960s, the colleges of education started to provide courses for music teaching. However, music was not compulsory to be studied in schools and music teachers had their own methods of teaching music. During the early 1980s, music education for secondary schools became formal and the syllabus for junior forms (i.e. Forms 1-3) first came out in 1983. Nevertheless, the role of music education and the allocation of music subjects are highly reliant on the schools' policies. The development of Hong Kong music education will be further discussed later in the thesis.

16. By the mid-1990s, British music education faces problems with funding and instrumental lessons have been cut in schools.

17. Before the implementation of the National Curriculum in the UK in the early 1990s, the effects of the Education Reform Bill of 1988 had disempowered the local democracy of the Education Authorities and teachers, and at the same time, expanded the powers of the Secretary of State. Morrison, Keith (1994) "Centralism and the Education Market: Why Emulate The United Kingdom" in *European Journal of Education*, Vol.29, No.4, p.420.

18. For further reference about British music education in the 1980s and 1990s, see Davies, Coral, "Music - A Curriculum Subject?" in *Curriculum*, Vol.9, No.3, Winter 1988, pp.135-139; and Swanwick, Keith (1994), *Musical Knowledge: Intuition, Analysis and Music Education*, London & New York: Routledge, p.6, and pp.54-61.

19. The year 1966 officially marks the beginning of the "Cultural Revolution" which is also referred to as the Great Socialist Cultural Revolution, or the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR). On November 22, 1966, the Central Cultural Revolutionary Committee was formed with seventeen members. The main task of the Revolutionary Committee of some communes was to "re-educate" and "remold" the intellectuals and students in the pattern of political struggle at the centre of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology. Chén Po-ta, Mao's secretary, was the chairman and Chiang Ch'ing, Mao's wife, was the vice-chairwoman of the Committee. The youthful Red Guards were regarded as "revolutionary successors" and "revolutionary rebels" and dedicated themselves in abolishing the old thoughts, old culture, old customs and old habits. The outcome of the Revolution was "anti-culture", "anti-intellectual" and "anti-scientific". In his often-quoted essay, Mao Zedong has written: "A cultural revolution is the ideological reflection of the political and economic revolution and is in their service." It is well-known that during the ten years of the Cultural Revolution intellectuals were sent to do physical labour in order to be reeducated, and all schools were closed during the Cultural Revolution. Chinese music education was totally destroyed. The Cultural Revolution was believed to bring Chinese education into disorder and violence. The Revolution ended after the fall of the Gang of Four (Chiang Ch'ing, Wang Hung-wen, Chang Ch'un-ch'iao, and Yao Wen-yüan) in 1976. See Hu, Shi Ming & Seifman, Eli (eds.) (1976), *Toward A New World Outlook: A Documentary History of Education in the People's Republic of China*, 1949-1976, New York: Ams Press, Inc, pp.188-200; Hsü, Immanuel C.Y. (1990), *The Rise of Modern China*, 4th edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.689-706; and Ogden, Suzanne (1989) *China's Unresolved Issues: Politics, Development, and Culture*, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc, pp.54-60.

20. Confucianism is also one of the most influential cultures in other Asian cultures, such as Japan and Korea. Confucianism is believed to have reached Korea during the kingdom of Koguryo. By 372 A.D., for example, Confucian high schools and a university were instituted in Koguro. Chung, Ji-sun (1994), "Women's Unequal Access to Education in South Korea" in *Comparative Education Review*, November, p.489.

21. According to Kaufmann (1976), Mencius lived between 372 and 289 B.C., (or between 390 and 305). Mencius was a disciple of Tzu Su, the grandson of Confucius. He is considered to be one of the major representatives of common-sense Confucianism. Kaufmann, W. (1976), *Musical References in the Chinese Classics*, Michigan: Information Coordinators, Inc.,p.62; and James Legge (ed.) (1970), *The Works of Mencius*, New York: Dover Publications, Inc., pp.14-38.

22. The liberation of Chinese women began in the early 1920s when the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) encouraged women to participate in the Chinese revolution. Mao proclaimed, "when women all over the country rise up, that will be the day of victory for the Chinese revolution" (DeFrancis 1975: 135). According to Niu (1993: 23), the CCP's advocation of the liberation of women was a strategy to help win national power, rather than to achieve the real freedom of the women. Nevertheless, the gender imbalance in Chinese education decreased after the establishment of the PRC in 1949. For example, primary school statistics have closed to equal participation, or at least more than 45 percent female and fifty-five percent male; the difference is still around 1:2 in tertiary education (Niu 1993: 26).

23. Confucianism does not only influence the role of women's education in China, but also in other Asian countries. For example, Confucian ideology was believed to have complete dominance over Korean society, including the women. Confucianism was considered as one of the most influential cultures to emphasise male supremacy and gave an unequal access to education for women in Korean history. For further information, see Chung, Ji-sun (1994), "Women's Unequal Access to Education in South Korea" in *Comparative Education Review*, November, pp.487-505; and Jayawardena, Kumari (1986), *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World*, London: Zed Books Ltd, pp.214-215.

24. The great body of Confucian thinking is found in the classic texts, which are groups of works by various authors. "The Four Books" is an abbreviation for "The Books of the Four Philosophies". The first is the *Lun Yü* (Digested Conversations). The second is the *Ta Hsio* (Great learning). The third is the *Chung Yung* (Doctrine of the Mean). The fourth contains the works of Mencius. The "Five Classics" include *Shijing* (Classic of Songs), *Shujing* (Classic of Documents),

Yijing (Classic of Changes), *Chunqiu* (Spring and Autumn Annuals), and the *Liji* (Record of Rites). The sixth Classic, the *Yuejing* (The Classic of Music), existed together with the above five and was considered as one of the important primary sources dealing with early attitudes toward music. However, it was thought that the first Qin emperor in the third century B.C. burned all the books and *Yuejing* was lost. James Legge (1971) *Confucius: Confucius Analects, The Great Learning & The Doctrine of the Mean* (New York: Dover), pp.1-3; and Raymond Dawson (1981), *Confucius*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.2-3.

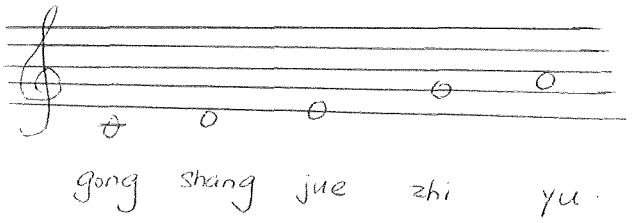
25. The Chinese often called themselves *Han Jěn*, or the "Men of Han," after a famous dynasty of that name, i.e. Han Dynasty (206 B.C. - A.D. 200). Han civilisation developed in the eastern side of China: mostly located at the lower Yellow River, lower Yangzi River and the coastal regions of the southern part of the country. These areas are considered as the "three cultural areas" (Thrasher 1981: 18). *Tang Jěn* or the "Men of Tang," after another famous dynasty, has been frequently on the lips of the Chinese in the South. The Han nationality occupied the major nationality in China. Some of China's ethnic groups claimed that Han culture, customs and language were superior to other minorities who should learn from Chinese in every aspect. According to Wei (1993: 73), there are altogether fifty-six nationalities in China and Han culture dominated the whole population in China. Nevertheless, the other fifty-five minority nationalities still preserved their own family values to various degrees. Latourette, K.S. (1942), *The Chinese: Their History and Culture*, New York: The Macmillan Company, pp.1 and 124-126; and Thrasher, Alan R. (1981), "The Sociology of Chinese Music" in *Asian Music*, Vol.XII-2, pp.18-20. For reference to other minority groups' music in China, see Standfier, James A. (1986), "China's Multicultural Population: Insight from Minority Nationalities and their Music", in *International Journal of Music Education*, No.8, pp.17-25.

26. The writer of the thesis will briefly describe the music theory of early Chinese music in four main areas: (1) notation; (2) melodies and harmonies; (3) rhythm; and (4) musical instruments.
(1) Notation of Chinese music:
There is lack of a unified system for Chinese music throughout the Chinese history. Levis (1939: 89) outlines four reasons for this phenomenon: (1) the historical influence; (2) the necessities arising from the evolution of the musical scale; (3) the structural peculiarities of various instruments; and (4) the necessity for expressing tones and values more conveniently. DeWoskin (1982: 128) also asserts that the holistic nature of the Chinese notation is demonstrated in its visible structure. The basic forms come from ordinary writing and facets of the tone are defined by the graphs

including timbre, relative pitch, attack, relative duration and embellishment. Rather than performing promptly from the notation, musicians have to memorise the music following study with their teachers (Campbell 1991: 137). Traditionally, the performer's personal interpretation was important in playing Chinese music. Also see Lai, T.C. & Mok, Robert (1981), *Jade Flutes: The Story of Chinese Music*, New York: Schocken Book, pp.28-32.

(2) Melodies and Harmony

The evolution of Chinese musical scales has undergone several stages but none of them was alike. Primarily there are two groups of organisational principles of sound, the "twelve pitches" and the "five tones". The system of twelve pitches is formed by fifths and the traditional musical terminology for the twelve semi-tones is the twelve *Lǚ*. The book *Guo Yu* is regarded as the earliest record about the twelve *Lǚ* (Liu 1988: 255). The twelve *Lǚ* has already existed since the Zhou Dynasty (1075-256 B.C.). According to Richard (1907: 10), the pentatonic scale was known in China B.C. 300. The "five tones" present the traditional Chinese pentatonic scale having the names of *gong, shang, jue, zhi,* and *yu*. If C is taken as the *gong* tone, the scale is described as follows (Cook 1995: 70-71):



Most Chinese music is based on the five-tone or pentatonic, scale but the seven-tone scale or heptatonic, scale is also used. For the past thousands of years, the harmonic structures of Chinese music has evolved. A frequently encountered harmonic structure is the zhi harmony which has a very long history, i.e. lower tonic - subdominant dominant - tonic (so - do - re - so). Within a given scale, the zhi harmony adopts the tonic (so or sol), the subdominant (do), and the dominant (re) as the most steady structure to construct the tonic chord known as zhi. For further information about the harmonies of Chinese music, see Shen, Sin-Yan (1991), *Chinese Music & Orchestration: A Primer on Principles and Practice*, Chicago: Chinese Music Society of North America, pp.2-10.

(3) Rhythm

The main time marks in common use are two: a cross (X, called *pan*) and a circle (O, called *yen*). *Pan* is placed at the side of the accented and *yen* at the side of the unaccented note. If more than one note is sung to the one beat, the number of notes are crowded to be sung at the side of the *pan* or *yen*. Chinese music has only simple common

time and triple and compound times are unfamiliar (Richard 1907: 12-13).

(4) Musical instruments

China is a vast country and has experienced various dynasties for thousands of years. The tone qualities and frequency ranges of Chinese orchestras are diversified, related to different geographical regions and culture.The classification of indigenous Chinese musical instruments was known as "eight sounds" (pa yin). According to the *Rites of Zhou* (Zhouli), the eight timbres are: (1) metal (bronze bells); (2) stone (lithophones); (3) earth (vessel flutes and clay jars); (4) skin (drums); (5) silk (zithers with silken strings); (6) wood (percussive wooden beaters); (7) gourd (mouth organ); and (8) bamboo (vertical, transverse flutes) (Liang 1985: 68). Broadly speaking, the composition of Chinese orchestras can be divided into four categories: (1) plucked strings; (2) bowed strings; (3) percussions; and (4) winds (see Shen 1991: 21-31). Liang (1970: 5-61) also divides the Chinese instruments into four categories: (1) striking instruments such as *chu, yu, chung-tu, pan, mu-yu, shuang-mu, mu-chin, chu, te-ching, plen-ching, ko-ching, yung-chung, po-chung, to, pien-chung, shun, wei-shun, cheng-lo, yun-lo, fang-hsiang, nao, po, lo, hsing, yin-ching, small lo, ku, chien-ku, tao, po-fu, tang-ku, chang-ku, hsuen-ku*, etc.; (2) blowing instruments such as *pai-hsiao, sheng, tung-hsiao, kuan, ti, tuan-ti, eleven-stop ti, chuang's chromatic flute, chih, hsun, chueh*, etc.; (3) plucking instruments such as *chin, se, cheng, ya-cheng, ming-cheng, chu, san-hsien, pipa, chin-han-tzu, shuang-ching, yuan, yueh-chin, hsuan-chih, kang-ho, yang-chin, monochord*; and (4) bowing instruments such as *hu-chin, ching-hu, erh-hu, szu-hu, yueh-hu, yeh-hu, nan-hu, chung-hu, ta-hu, ti-hu, san-hsien-hu, szu-tung-chih*. According to Han & Mark (1983: 19), the modern Chinese classical orchestra evolved from the traditional southern Chinese instrumental ensemble known formerly as "Southern Silk and Bamboo".

27. In fact, there were three main schools of thought which influenced the philosophical basis of Chinese music education through their founders: (1) Lao Tzu (2) Mo Tsz and (3) Confucius. Both Lao Tzu and Mo Tzu were principally anti-music in their thinking. Lao Tzu said, "Colours blind the eyes, tones deafen the ears and flavors numb the palate." Mo Tzu said, "Music is a source of evils and a hindrance to human progress. Therefore, it must be suppressed." However, Confucius realized that music could be made a potent force for moral education as well as socio-political significance. Owing to the fact that Confucius was living during the Warring States period (B.C.481-256), he recognized that music education could regulate the government so as to achieve universal harmony. This is the reason why Confucianism is demonstrated in the thesis in relationship to the development of traditional Chinese music education in Imperial China. Lai, T.C. & Mok, Robert (1981), *Jade Flute: The Story of Chinese Music*, New York: Schocken Books, pp.36-40; and Dīng,

Gāng (ed.) (1994), *Yuèjiào Yǔ Zhōngguò Wénhuà* (Music Education and Chinese Culture), Shanghai Education Publisher, pp.202-204.

28. The "six arts" were the standard content of Confucius' teaching in Imperial education. Rites, music, archery, charioteering, writing and mathematics were considered as valuable subjects for the education of the young aristocrat. Dawson, Raymond (1981), *Confucius*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.20.

29. Yè (1989) divides traditional Chinese music into four categories: (1) court music, (2) popular music, (3) intellectual music, and (4) religious music. Yè, Míng-mèi (1989), "Buddhist Music and Chinese Five-Mountain's Buddhist Music Orchestra" (Fójià Yīnlè Hé Wǔtáishān Fólétuán), *Ming Pao Monthly Journal* (Míng Bào Yuè Kān), Vol.24, No.3, March, p.49.

30. According to Liang (1970), the Se had originally 50 strings. The present Se has 25 strings, each one of which is elevated on a movable bridge. All the strings are well tuned on gong, shang, jue, zhi and yu, the five tones of the pentatonic scale. It has a range of five octaves. For detailed information, see Liang, Tsai-ping (ed.) (1970), *Chinese Musical Instruments & Pictures,* Taipei: Chinese Classical Music, pp.44-45. The Qin is a Chinese plucked seven strings but it has no bridges. The strings are plucked by the right-hand fingers while the left hand fingers stop the strings at desired lengths. The qin has two to three hundred notations for tonal requirements. It is the most highly esteemed of the Chinese musical instruments since the beginning of Chinese civilization. For detailed information, see Shen, Sin-yan (1992), *Chinese Music and Orchestration: A primer on Principles & Practice*, Chicago: Chinese Music Society of North America, pp.12-151; and Liang, Ming-yue (1985), *Music of the Billion: An Introduction to Chinese Culture*, New York: Heinrichshofen Edition, pp.197-211.

31. Lai and Mok explained these supernatural forces which were the wrath of nature and the appraisal of gods. This could bring good climate to people. Lai, T.C. & Mok, Robert (1981), *Jade Flutes: The Story of Chinese Music*, New York: Schocken Book, p.35.

32. The people of ancient China considered that "Heaven" was the source of the ruler's authority and "Heaven" would appoint a monarch to rule its people on earth (Tseng 1981: 21).

33. According to Wiant (1966: 48), *Ta Ch'eng* was a new kind of music in the Sung Dynasty and it took the place of the old. Previously, musicians were also dancing masters. In the *Yueh Fu* of the Sung period, there was one head, a great musician, two deputy masters, one music director, and four associate directors. Under this group of leaders were many composers and writers. For details, see Wiant

Bliss (1966), *The Music of China*, Hong Kong: Chung Chi College, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, pp.47-50.

34. Zhang, Qian (1991), "The History and Future of the Reception of Western Music by China in the 20th century", in Tokumaru,Y., Ohmiya,M., Kanazawa, M., Yamaguti, O., Tukitani, T., Takamatu, A., Shimosako,M. (eds.), *Tradition and its future in music: Report of SIMS 1990 Osaka*, Tokyo: Mita Press, p.407; and Thrasher, A.R. (1980), *Foundations of Chinese Music: A Study of Ethics and Aesthetics*, London: University Microfilms International, p.5.

35. The Taiping Revolution was an anti-Manchu movement and demanded the overthrow of the Qing Dynasty. The Taipings denounced the Manchu oppression of the Chinese, called for anti-corruption within this alien rule. Hong Xiu-quan, leader of the Revolution, proposed that members of the secret societies might join the Taipings under the condition that they took up God-worship, renounced idol-worship, and accepted the Taiping Commandments and discipline. In 1845, a few hundred followers called themselves "God Worshippers" (Bai Shengdi Ren). In 1851, the revolution increased to thousands of followers when it named itself the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom and founded a new dynasty. In 1853, the Taipings had an army of a million when it occupied Nanjing and proclaimed the city its new Heavenly capital Tianjing. With reference, see Weller, Robert P. (1994) *Resistance, Chaos and Control in China: Taiping Rebels, Taiwanese Ghosts and Tiananmen*, London: The Macmillan Press, pp.33-49; and Hsü, Immanuel C.Y. (1990), *The Rise of Modern China*, Now York: Oxford University Press, pp.226-253.

36. During the second half of the nineteenth century, Chinese music education was based on the transmission of traditional Chinese music. After entering the 1900s, contemporary Chinese music education was highly developed under the influence of Western countries. The introduction of Western music was a common phenomenon in Asian countries after the middle of the nineteenth century. The ancient system of music education in Asia was reshaped by Western music in the areas of the teaching and the creation of music. For example, Western music became popular in Korea when the Protestant Christian missionaries arrived in 1885. Japan opened her door to the West at the beginning of the Meiji period (1868). In 1872, the Ministry of education in Japan set up a system of music education in elementary schools by incorporating two European treaties; the Dutch School System translated by Uchida Masao in 1869 and the French School System translated in 1873-1876. In the Philippines, patterns of development at the Conservatory of Music followed along the lines of European and American conservatories. Tră, Van Khě (1983), "Music Education in Asia" in *International Journal of Music Education*, No.1, May, pp.7-10 (Music Education in

the past).

37. The policy was issued by the Ministry of Education of Republican China on September 2, 1912. The policy is in Song, Ēnŕong and Zhāng, Xián (eds.) (1990), *Zhōnghuámínguo Jiàoyù Fǎgui Xuǎnbian*, 1912-1949 (Selection of Education Acts of Republic of China, 1912-1949), Jiangsu: Jiangsu Education, p.1.

38. Duiker, William J. (1977) *Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei:Educator of Modern China*, University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, p.45; and Wu, Yōng-Yì (1990), "My Country's Music Education's Thought and Its Practice from 1900-1950" (Běn Shìjì Qián Bàn Xié Wǒguó De Yīnyuè Jiàyù Sīxiǎng Jí Qí Shíjiàn), in *Music Study* (Yīnyuè Yánjiū), No.3, pp.28-29.

39. According to Liu (1988: 28), Xiāo's philosophy of music education was described by the following three main points: (1) the development of Western music was more advanced than Chinese music; (2) Chinese must learn from the West in respect of using Western music to improve Chinese music and instruments; and (3) music should be encouraged to maintain national conduct and behaviour. Also see Sǔ, Yú-Mín (1990), "The Forerunner, Pioneer & Founder of Professional Music Education of Contemporary China: In The Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the Xiāo Yǒu-Méi" (Wǒguó Dāngdài Zhuānyè Yīnyuè Jiàoyù Dí Xiǎnqūzhě, Kāituòzhě, Diànjīzhě), in *Journal of the Central Conservatory of Music* (Zhongyang Yīnyuè Xuéyuàn Xuébào), No.4, p.11.

40. The following male musicians were sent overseas, they learned and brought western musical techniques to China in the early twentieth century:

    1. Shěn Bè-Gōng (1869-1947) to Japan in 1902;
    2. Lǐ Shū-Tóng (1880-1942) to Japan in 1905;
    3. Jiāng Wén-Yě (1910-1983) to Japan;
    4. Zhào Yuán-Rèn (1892-1982) to America;
    5. Huàng Zì (1904-1938) to America;
    6. Tán Xiǎo-lín (1911-1948) to America;
    7. Yìng Shāñg-Néng (1920-1973) to America in 1923;
    8. Mǎ Sī-Cōng (1912-1987) to France;
    9. Xǐ Xīng-Hǎi (1905-1945) to France;
    10. Zhēng Zhì-shèng (1903-1948) to France.

    Sources from Ching-Chih Liu (ed.) (1990), *Studies of Ethnomusicology, No.2: Papers of Ethnomusicology, No.2: Papers & Proceedings of the International Seminar on Chinese Music & Asian Music*, jointly organised by the Centre of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong & the Hong Kong Ethnomusicology Society, 23-25 June

1988, Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong, p.259.

41. 1. Sze, Vong-Tsu (Miss) was born in Quinsan, Kiangsu. She graduated from McTyeire School in Shanghai in 1905. She became the music teacher of McTyeire School from 1905-07. She went to America in March 1907 and supported the tuition fee by herself. She studied Music at the Institute of Musical Art from 1907-1910 (A.I.M.A.). Then she returned to China in August 1910 (Tsing Hua College 1917: 15).

2. Shu, C.Y. (Mrs) was born in Shanghai. She studied at Shanghai McTyeire School from 1892-1900. She went to America in August 1901 and did her studies in music at Stuart Hall, Virginia from 1901-1904. Shu had to pay her studies by herself. She returned to China in September 1904 (Tsing Hua College 1917: 156).

3. Yang, Pao-Ling (Mrs) was born in Soochow in 1890. She studied at Hiroshima Girls' Schools in Japan from 1900-1904. Then she continued her studies at Shanghai MeTyeire School from 1905-1907. She arrived in America in June 1908. Yang also supported the tuition fee by herself. She did literature and music at La George College from 1908-1911, and graduated in 1911. She returned to China in 1911 (Tsing Hua College 1917: 166).

4. Owyang, Kee (Mrs) was born in Los Angeles, California, U.S.A. She studied Liberal Arts at the University of Arizona from 1910-1913. Then she went to do music at Pacific College and Conservatory from 1913-14. She had to pay for her studies by herself. She returned to China in 1915 (Tsing Hua College 1917: 185).

Besides these four female musicians, a few other Chinese females also went to America to study other subjects on the basis of private support between the 1900s and 1910s. For further detailed information about these female students, see Tsing Hua College (1917), pp.14, 97, 117, 119, 133, 145, 147, 148, 154, 174, 200, 202 & 208.

42. Chèn Yí is regarded as the only female to have high status among Mainland Chinese composers. She was born in 1953 and she was the first female to attain a title of PhD in history of composition in Mainland China. After Chèn had her Masters Degree at the Central Conservatory of Music in 1986, she went to Columbia University to do her PhD in composition. During her overseas studies, she was invited to take part in the Pacific composers' meetings. Chèn was among the first group of Mainland musicians to visit Taiwan. She also presented her work in the concert "Today Chinese" in Taipei, capital of Taiwan. *People's Daily*, overseas edition (Rénmín Rìbào Hǎiwàibǎn), 29 Dec. 1993, p.4.

43. For further details about Alexander Tcherepnin's influence on Chinese music, see Zhou Won-zhong (1982), "Tcherepnin's Contribution in Music" in *The Art of Music*, Vol.11, No.4, pp.98-106.

44. By the "Western style of music education and institutes" I refer to the areas of traditional Western musical theory, compositional techniques, Western orchestration and the Western canon.

45. Lin (1989: 314) divides the development of vocal music in China into four periods: (1) the early period; (2) the founding period: (3) the anti-Japanese War period; and (4) the contemporary period. Lin (ibid) suggests that the future development of vocal music in China should include "distinct nationalistic style and up-to-date techniques". Chinese composers have to develop the traditional Chinese characteristics and employ the "language" of modern music to incorporate the "Chinese traditional elements with the European techniques" (ibid).

46. The Japanese Syŏka was created in the Meizi Period and was disseminated by Chinese in the Meizi Period. The early pieces of the *Syŏka* was included in the Edition of *Syŏka for Primary School* published in the 14th year of Meizi Period (1881) and there were many songs originating from Western tunes set to Japanese poems. Luo, Chuan-kai (1991), "Double Cultural Contact: Diffusion and Reformation of Japanese School Songs in China" in Tokumaru,Y., Ohmiya,M., Kanazawa, M., Yamaguti, O., Tukitani, T., Takamatu, A., Shimosako,M. (eds.), *Tradition and its future in music: Report of SIMS 1990 Osaka*, Tokyo: Mita Press, p.13.

47. *Chinese Music* (Quarterly), March 1995, Vol.57, No.1, p.77.

48. Húang Zī graduated from Oberlin Conservatory and Yales University with a master's degree in music. He used to adopt pentatonic melodies fixed in western tonal harmonies. For further information about the music of Húang Zī, see Mao, Yu-run (1991), "Music under Mao, Its Background and Aftermath" in *Asian Music*, Spring/Summer, pp.101-103.

49. This is a brief description of the early Western musical knowledge introduced into the Chinese music curriculum. For details, see Wu, Yōng-Yì (1990), "My Country's Music Education Thought and Its Practice from 1900-1950" (Běn Shìjì Qián Bàn Xié Wŏguó De Yīnyuè Jiàyù Sīxiăng Jí Qí Shíjiàn), in *Music Study* (Yīnyuè Yánjiū), No.3, pp.27-28; Liang, Ming-yue (1985), *Music of the Billion: An Introduction to Chinese culture*, New York: Heinrichshofen Edition, pp.138-139; Lìn, Cōng (1981), *Zhōngguó Yīnyuè Shǐ Tánkè* (Lectures on Chinese Music History), Qī Dēng Chūbănshè (Seven Lamps Publisher),pp.89-92; and Zhāng Jǐ-rèn (1990), "The Development and Investigation of Contemporary Chinese Music Education" (Zhōngguó

Jìndài Yīnyuè Jiàoyù Zhī Fāzhǎn Jí Qūxiàng Chūtàn) in Liu, Ching-Chih (ed.), *History of New Music in China 1946-1976: Collected Essays*, Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong, pp.439-445.

50. Owing to the fact that modern China had no systematic traditional Chinese music education system, China imitated and learned from Europe. The music education system was borrowed from the West, particularly the teaching and learning materials from European countries during the 1920s. The institutionalisation of educational borrowing from Western countries was then developed in China. These institutions have also reflected the orientation of the inflow of Western music into Mainland China in the 1920s. Since then Chinese composers have assimilated Western musical styles, both in writing for the symphonic orchestra and for their own traditional instruments.

51. There were twenty-seven students for the first enrolment in the Shanghai Conservatory. Xiāo Yǒu-meì directed the Conservatory until the outbreak of the Second World War in 1937. The enrolment of the Conservatory doubled within the first year of its establishment and the Conservatory had to move twice to larger premises. Courses were based on a credit system and one hundred were required to complete a professional training course. In 1929, the vocal class was run by a Chinese female instructor, piano lessons by a Russian, a cello class by another Russian in 1930, and violin by an Italian. In 1930, the Ministry of Education asked for some changes in the course system, and a normal course was supplemented to the academic course in which eighty credits were required for any subject. In 1935, an organ class was introduced into the curriculum in the Conservatory. In 1937, the official enrolment increased to one hundred and ten students of whom a half were doing piano, a third taking vocal training and the rest studying violin or cello, with only two students doing the Chinese lute. The above information comes from Scott, A. C. (1963), *Literature & the Arts in the Twentieth Century*, China: Garden City: Doubleday, pp. 131-133. For further information about the development of the Shanghai Conservatory before and after the WWII, see Schimmelpenninck, A. & Kouwenhoven, F. (1993), "The Shanghai Conservatory of Music" in *Chime Journal*, No.6, Spring, pp.56-91.

52. Levis (1936: 198) stated that only Western music was taught in most music departments of schools and colleges in China in the 1930s. It was because Western music had demonstrated a superiority over Chinese music in matters of harmony, counterpoint, greater complexity of melodic construction and orchestration. Chinese colleges and universities mostly gave performances of Western classical music during the 1930s. For example, the choir at Yenching University having a hundred singers gave a performance of Handel's

Messiah in 1930. Haydn's *Creation* was performed largely by members of Ginling College for Girls and Nanjing University, both missionary-run, at Nanjing in 1936 (Scott 1963: 131).

53. It was an anti-foreign movement that happened in 1900 as a consequence of China's suffering half a century of foreign humiliation since the 1840s. "Boxers" was the name given by foreigners to a Chinese secret society called the I-ho Ch'üan, or the "Righteous and Harmonious Fists". Hsü, Immanual C.Y. (1990), *The Rise of Modern China*, Fourth Edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 387-407.

54. The Twenty-one Demands were delivered by the Japanese Minister, Hioki Eki, to Chinese President Yüan Shih-k'ai on January 18, 1915. The Demand was divided into five groups: (1) recognition of Japan's position in Shangtung; (2) special position for Japan in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia; (3) joint operation of China's iron and steel industries; (4) nonalienation of coastal areas to any third power; and (5) control by Japan of China's several important domestic administrations. The first four called for Japanese control of Shangtung, Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, the southeast coast of China, and the Yangtze valley. The fifth was the order of Japanese advisers in Chinese political, financial, military, and police administrations, as well as the purchase of at least 50% of China's munitions from Japan (Hsü 1990: 479 & 494).

55. The above information is from Wong (1984: 121-122).

56. Niè wanted to study music overseas but he was not successful. With the agreement and assistance of the Communist Party in China, Niè planned to travel to Japan, then attempted to go to Soviet Russia to further his studies in music in April, 1935. But Niè was believed to drown in Japan in July 17, 1935. Xiăn Xīng-hăi had composed film songs for several years after he came back from Paris. He moved to the Communist headquarters at Yenan in 1938 and became the director of the music academy there. Besides popular songs, Xiăn also composed symphonies and cantatas with patriotic themes of which the celebrated "Yellow River Cantata" was the most famous one. He went to Moscow to continue his studies in 1940. There he completed his "National Symphony", started in 1936, and composed his second symphony named "War in a Noble Cause". In 1945 Xiăn died of tuberculosis in Moscow on October 30, 1945. For further details about Niè's and Xiăn's music, see *Journal of Conservatory of Music* (Quarterly), 1981, Vol.3, NO.2, 1981, pp.51-59; and Manuel, Peter (1988) *Popular Musics of the Non-Western World*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.225-7. For further reference on Xiăn's life and music, see Scott, A. C. (1963) *Literature & the Arts in the Twentieth Century*, London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, pp.136-137; and Zuŏ, Zhén-guān (1995), "Looking For the Steps of Xiăn Xīng-hăi in

Russia" (Xǔnfǎng Xiǎn Xīng-hǎi Zài Sūlián Dí Zújī) in *Ming Pao Monthly Journal* (Míng Bào Yuè Kān), October, pp.84-87. Chào Yuén-rèn was born in Tianjin in 1892. He studied at Qinhua University in China and went to Cornell University as an undergraduate in America. Then he studied at Harvard University as a graduate student in mathematics, physics, philosophy and linguistics. Chào died in Cambridge, Massachusetts in February 24, 1982. Shen Sin-yan (1982), "Chào Yuán-rèn" in *Chinese Music*, Vol.5, No.1, p.19. For further information about the relationship between the 1919 May 4th Movement and Zhào Yuán-rèn's music, see Lì, Ye-dao (1992), "The Spirit of May-Fourth Movement and in Memory of Zhào Yuán-rèn" (Wǔsì Jīngshén Hé Zhào-rèn De Yīngyuè) in *Music Study* (Yīnyuè Yánjiū), Vol.66, No.3, pp.22-28.

57. In 1935, Niè Er rejoined the Lin Wah Film Company, working for the music production and composed the film song "March of the Volunteers". *Journal of the Central Conservatory of Music* (Quarterly), 1981, Vol.3, No.2, p.52.

58. *Yellow River Cantata* was transcribed and revised to *Yellow River Piano Concerto* (Gangqin xiezouqu huanghe) in the 1960s.

59. However, Qín notes that there have been four official national anthems; one in 1911, one in 1912, one in 1919 and the last in 1928. See Qín, Qǐ-míng (1990), "The History of Chinese National Anthems" (Zhōngguó Guó-gē Shǐ) in *Ming Pao Monthly Journal* (Míng Bào Yuè Kān) , Vol.25, No.1, January, pp.84-86.

60. The National Party was also called Kuomintang. The dominant theme of Contemporary China has been the struggle between the Nationalists and the Communists for the authority of the Chinese state. The Chinese Communist Party was founded in 1921 and began to cooperate with the Nationalist Party in 1923. However, the death of Dr. Sun Yat-sen terminated the alliance, and an open split in 1927. Chiang Kai-shek, the Nationalist military leader, established Nationalist government in Nanjing in 1928 (Hsü 1990: 12).

61. After the growth of the communist movement in China, Mao Zedong delivered a famous speech at the Yenan Forum on the use of literature and art to serve the communist ideology in 1942. At the Forum, Mao's speech emphasized the nature of art in class society. Mao noted that whether an artist liked it or not, s/he takes up a class position in class society. He said that the arts should be for the mass of workers, peasants and soldiers. See Brett, Guy, "A Challenge to Artists" in *China Now*, No.65, October 1976, pp.11-13; and Thrasher, A.R. (1980), *Foundations of Chinese Music: A Study of Ethics and Aesthetics*, London: University Microfilms International, pp.176-177; Perris, Arnold (1983) "Music As Propaganda: Art at the

Command of Doctrine in the People's Republic's of China" in *Ethnomusicology*, Vol.17, No.1, p.6; and Mao Ze-dong (1967), *On Literature and Art*, Beijing: Foreign Languages Press.

62. In December 1995, the television channel of BBC2 screened a programme named *TX*. This was an arts documentary about a group of Chinese musicians who were sent to exile in re-education and labour camps during the Cultural Revolution (1967-1976). The programme focused on the feelings, sufferings and struggles of a group of Chinese musicians during and after the Cultural Revolution.

63. The "Shajiabang" was divided into nine sections including the solo, choral singing and orchestral performance.

64. The story of the "Red Detachment of Women" was based on the ten-year civil war which happened on the Island of Southern Sea in China. Under the leadership of Hóng Cháng-chng and Wú qīng-huà in the "Red Detachment of Women", the ballet glorified the greatness of Chairman Mao in winning the people's war. The "Red Detachment of Women" was first performed in Hong Kong Shatin City Hall in January 1995. The performance included one preliminary and four public performances. The Ballet was acted by the China Central Ballet (Zhōngguó Zhōngyāng Bālěi Wǔtuán), composed of 150 actors. Music instruments from Chinese minority groups and Western orchestration were adopted in the Ballet. *Sing Tao* Daily, January 16, 1995. The "White-haired Girl" was created by a few members of the Lu Xun Arts Academy and the principal composer was Ma Ke. The story began on the northern Chinese legend of Yang Xier, a young peasant women who was raped by her landlord and fled away. She hid and her hair turned white which made the villagers mistake her for a spirit. Information from Kraus, Richard C. (1989), *Pianos and Politics in China: Middle-Class Ambitions and the Struggles over Western Music*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp.62-63.

65. The "Red Lantern's Record" was composed by Yin Chengzong. The story was about a small town under Japanese occupation. The main character was named Li Yuhe, a railway worker, who used his lantern for sending secret message to near guerrillas. After Li and his mother were tortured and killed, his teenage daughter Tiemei continued Li's work to deliver the secret code to guerrillas. The new piece came into performance on National Day of the PRC in 1967. By 1968, in order to end popular fears that all foreign things were condemned as "bourgeois or revisionist", Yin's "Red Lantern's Record" was honoured as a work that "synthesised the best of Chinese and foreign artistic techniques". Information from Kraus, Richard C. (1989), pp.144-147. The story of "Capturing the Tiger Mountain by Strategy" was about the civil war between the communist and

nationalist governments after the end of WWII. The Liberation Army of the communist government won the victory in the battle of the northeastern part of China in the winter of 1946 (Shanghai Dance-drama Organisation 1974). The story of "On the Dock" was about the devotion of the working class people to communist China in the 1960s. The opera "Raid on the White Tiger Regiment" was also explicitly delineated the great work of the communist China. The story of "Shajiabang" took place in the early 1940s. Under the leadership of Instructor Guo of the New Fourth Army, a group of wounded soldiers hid themselves in the marshes near Shajiabang. Sister A Qing, an underground agent of the Communist Party who uncovered by running a local tea shop, protected the wounded soldier. With the help of Sister A Qing and other local residents, Instructor Guo finally returned to Shajiabang with his troops to destroy his enemies (Yung 1984: 149).

66. According to Perris (1983: 17), the eight "model works" of music included the five operas ("Red Lantern's Record", "Capturing the Tiger Mountain by Strategy", "On the Docks", "Raid on the White Tiger Regiment" and "Shajiabang"), two ballets ("The Red Detachment of Women" and the "White-haired Girl"), and the eighth was the last part of a cantata of the *Yellow River Piano Concerto*, composed by Xiǎn Xīng-hǎi. According to Liang (1985: 157), the eight model plays are "Red Lantern's Record", "Capturing the Tiger Mountain by Strategy", "On the Docks", "Longjiang Eulogy", "Shajiabang", "Red Detachment of Women" and "White-haired Girl" and "Azalea Mountain".

67. For instance, Fou Ts'ong, a famous Chinese pianist, won the third prize in the fifth Chopin International Piano Competition in Warsaw in 1955. Fou Ts'ong became a Chinese national hero because he was the first Asian musician to be honoured in an important international music competition held by Westerners. In December 1958, Fou went to Poland to study. Since Fou escaped from Poland to Great Britain in 1959, he has settled down and lived in Britain. From 1979 to 1989, he went to China seven times as a visiting professor at the Chinese Central Music Conservatory and Shanghai Music Conservatory. According to Kraus, the Chopin Competition was a diplomatic encounter in Communist China. See Kraus, Richard C. (1989), pp.75 and 79-83; and *Siyu Chinese Times*, Vol.65, July 1994.

68. By the mid-1980s, there were 93,000 secondary schools, with only 28,000 music teachers available in China. Amongst these 28,000 music teachers, only 20% of them received the qualification of higher education and it was estimated that there were a lack of 65,000 music teachers in China. Zhāng, Yǒu-Gāng & Yǐng, Hóng (1991), "Music Education of 1980's in China" (Wǒguó Bashī Niāndài Yīnyuè) in *People's Music* (Rénmín Yīnyuè), No.2, p.10.

69. In 1835, the Morrison English Society was founded in Canton, a province in Southern China, in memory of Robert Morrison who was the first Protestant missionary to the Chinese.

70. Leng Ying Secondary School was established in Hong Kong in 1938.

71. I will further to discuss the change and function of the Hong Kong Education Ordinance in Chapter Five.

72. The Chinese Sacred Music Institute was later known as the Hong Kong Music Institute. For further information about the Chinese Sacred Music Institute , see *Musical Companion* (Yuèyǒu), Vol.45, January, 1959.

73. E. Burney, M.C., a British H.M.I., visited Hong Kong in 1935 and made a report about the Hong Kong educational system. His draft Report came out in March 1935 and the final version of the Report was on May 27, 1935. Burney accused the Hong Kong Government of ignoring primary education in the vernacular, whilst secondary school was too academic and not adequately related to practical needs. He suggested that Hong Kong primary education should be in Chinese and both grammar and technical curriculum and methods of secondary education should be improved by being related to the needs and changing society of Hong Kong. For further detailed information about the Burney Report, see Sweeting, Anthony (1990) *Education in Hong Kong Pre-1841 to 1941: Fact and Opinions*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, p.344 & 355-357.

74. For further information about the development of Hong Kong primary and secondary music education, see Chow, Fan-fu (1990) "The Investigation of Hong Kong Music Education" in Liu Ching-Chih (ed.), *History of New Music in China 1946-1976: Collected Essays*, Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong, pp.457-466.

75. For the information about the twenty-fifth anniversary of Hong Kong Children's Choir, see *Ming Pao*, April 7, 1995, p.G7-G10.

76. Yip Wai-hong was the former Head of the Fine Arts Department at the Baptist College in Hong Kong. For further information about the works of Yip Wai-hong, see Teo, Kenneth & Lee, Eva (1992), *The Music School in Hong Kong Yip's Training Centre: A Case Study*, New York: Vantage Press, pp.50-52 (Appendix F).

77. The "Four Modernizations" was written into the party constitution (Eleventh Congress, August 18, 1977) and the state constitution (Fifth National People's Congress, March 5, 1978). It focused on national progress - of agriculture, industry, science and technology - and national defence (Hsü 1990: 803-816).

In order to achieve the four modernizations in Socialist China, the four cardinal principles were upheld ideologically and politically. The four principles are to:
1. keep to the socialist road;
2. uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat;
3. uphold the leadership of the Communist Party;
4. uphold Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (1984), *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping (1975-1982)*, Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, pp.171-186.

78. See the circular "The promotion of civic education through music in schools" published by the Hong Kong Music Education Department in August 1986.

79. See endnotes 1 (p.365).

80. Choi, Po-king (1990), "A Search for Cultural Identity: The Students' Movement of the Early Seventies" in Sweeting, Anthony (ed.), *Differences and Identities Educational Argument in Late Twentieth Century Hong Kong*, Hong Kong: Faculty of Education, University of Hong Kong, pp.83-88; and Choi, Po-king (1990), "From 'Slavery Culture' and 'Cultural Desert' to the Birth of Local Culture: The Connection Between the Development of Hong Kong Culture and Its Relationship With Chinese Revolution (Cómg Núhuà Jiàoyù Jí Wénhuà Shāmò Dào Běntǔ De Táitóu: Xiānggǒng De Fāzhǎn Yǔ Zhōngguó Jìndài Gémìng De Zhuǎnzhé) in *CUHK Education Journal*, Vol.18, No.2, December, p.153.

81. The target population of the 1990 survey is all adults aged 18 or above who are living in Hong Kong. A random sample of 3,305 varied addresses was drawn and 1,957 respondents were successfully interviewed. See Lau, Siu-kai, Lee Ming-kwan, Wan So-san & Wong Siu-lun (1992), "Preface" in Lau, Siu-kai, Lee Ming-kwan, Wan So-san & Wong Siu-lun (eds.) *Indicators of Social Development: Hong Kong 1990*, Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, pp.ix-x.

82. For example, the St. Stephen's College has annual cultural visits to China and leadership training programmes. During Easter of 1995, 35 students and 6 teachers of the College went to Xian, situated in the eastern part of China, to gather first-hand information for their AS-Level subject Chinese Language and Culture (*South China Morning Post*, March 8, 1995, p.1).

83. In 1972, the film *China Behind* was produced by a Chinese woman director named Tong Shu-shuen. This film was about Chinese university students who fled Hong Kong during the Cultural

Revolution. However, the Hong Kong government decided to ban the film after the film was seen by Xinhua News Agency which is an official organisation of the PRC stationed in Hong Kong. After the fall of the Gang of Four, the film was allowed to be shown in film clubs. In the beginning of the 1980s, the relations between Hong Kong and the PRC seemed to be improved immensely and the film *China Behind* seemed about to be "lifted" (Lau & Rosario 1985: 31). Then a Taiwanese director Pai Ching-jui released the film *Winter in Beijing* which described the horror of the Gang of Four (Chiang Ch'ing, Wang Hung-wen, Chang Ch'un-ch'iao, and Yao Wen-yüan) during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). This was critically attacked by the leftwing press and the film *Winter in Beijing* was labelled as "anti-communist". Immediately, *Winter in Beijing* was withdrawn and the ban on *China Behind* reconfirmed (Lau & Rosario 1985: 31).

84. The City Hall has been the cultural centre of Hong Kong since the 1960s. The City Hall was open in 1962 and it is administered by the Urban Council, a dependent body of the Hong Kong Government (*Hong Kong Annual Report 1976*, p.165). In 1963, the Polish Symphony orchestra was the only overseas symphony orchestra to play in Hong Kong (*Hong Kong Report for the Year 1963*, p.323). In November 1964, the London Symphony Orchestra presented three concerts under conductors Colin Davis and Istvan Hertesz. The Vienna Boys Choir and pianist Arthur Rubinstein also gave performances in the same hall (*Hong Kong Report for the Year 1964*, pp.233-234).

85. The Hong Kong Arts Festival was founded in 1973 for the promotion of traditional Western and Chinese music. There were 1,000 artists and off-stage staff who took part in the 1994 Festival. The 1994 Festival ran for 27 days and over 100,000 people attended its 138 performances (99 overseas artists). *Hong Kong 1995: A Review of 1994:* p.385.

86. The Festival is one of the most important international cultural events in Hong Kong, organised by the Urban Council.

87. Presently, Lo King-man is the Director of the Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts (APA).

88. Mă resigned his post from the Festival in June 1987 (Chow 1988: 8).

89. Hóu Dé-jiàn was a Taiwanese singer. After he went to Mainland China in 1982, he was regarded as an "anti-counter" revolutionary member by the Taiwanese government. All Hóu's songs were forbidden to be sung in Taiwan, including his most popular song, "Descendent of The Dragon" (Lóng De Chuán-rén). However, his 1987 new collection "My Love" (Wǒài) was permitted to be sold in Taiwan

by the Songs Judgement society of the News Department. Nevertheless, the News Department did not allow Hóu's music video to be broadcast on Taiwan's television later and most radio stations followed this policy and stopped airplay of Hóu's music. Wēng, Jiā-míng (1992) *Cóng Luó Dà-yòu Dào Cuī Jiàn* (From Luó Dà-yòu to Cuī Jiàn), Taiwan: Shíbào Wénhuà Chūbǎn Qǐyè Yǒuxiàn Gōngsī (Time Culture Publishing Ltd. Company), pp.38-42.

90. The Radio Television Hong Kong (RTHK) provided a channel of communication between the government and the public. Radio Hong Kong (RHK) is financed from general revenue and has no advertising in the programmes. Radio 2 offers programmes in Chinese ranging from civic education to entertainment, targeting the younger generation. *Hong Kong 1995: A Review of 1994*, p.366.

91. Since 1949 China has chosen delegates to represent Hong Kong at the National People's Congress (NPC), and at the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC). During the Sino-British negotiations in 1983, Beijing appointed 27 extra Hong Kong and Macao delegates in addition to the original 20 CPPCC representatives. According to Lau (1985: 24), there were fifty appointed Hong Kong delegates to the NPC and CPPCC. Among them, sixteen Hong Kong delegates to the NPC were nominated by the Guangdong provincial People's Congress. The NPC delegates included "leftwing people" from Hong Kong business, banking, commerce, education, the trade unions and the media as well as other professionals. They were regarded as "loyal" and "reliable" to the Beijing authorities. Lau, Emily (1985) "Capitalist Delegates to People's Congress," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 1 August, pp.24 & 26; and Yú Cóng-zhé (1988), "Be A Brave Chinese" (Zuògè Xǒnggǎn De Zhongguó Rèn) in *The Nineties* (Jiǔshí Niándài), No.218, March, pp.8-9.

92. References for the Music Office, see Arlis Hiebert (1993) "Music Education/Learning Opportunities in Hong Kong" in *The Chinese University of Hong Kong Education Journal*, Vol.21, No.1, p.10; Recreation and Culture Branch (March 1993), *Consultation Paper: Arts Policy Review Report*, Hong Kong Government Printer, pp.28-31; Hong Kong Government (1993), *Hong Kong 1993: A Review of 1992,* Hong Kong Government Printer, p.328; *Hong Kong 1994: A Review of 1993*, p.355; and *Hong Kong 1995: A Review of 1994*, p.391.

93. For example, they gave music lessons to students in the Music Office, delivered speeches about Chinese music to the public, gave two performances shown in the Hong Kong Television Broadcast Limited (TVB) and had a performance of a demonstration concert in Tsuen Wan Concert Hall on December 7, 1984. At the same time, Hong Kong musicians also had seminars with these five Chinese musicians

to discuss the development of Chinese music (Lín in *United Music*, August 1985, p.14).

94. The Hong Kong Chinese Orchestra (HKCO) was found in 1977 by the Urban Council. The HKCO is Hong Kong's only professional Chinese music orchestra. Besides regular public concerts, free students concerts and outreaching performances to other social organisations are also presented by the HKCO. In 1994, the Orchestra had 85 members, giving 97 performances. Since the beginning of the 1990s, it has been active in both local and international musical scenes. In November 1993, the orchestra gave two performances in Guangzhou, China. The Orchestra has expanded its repertoire to commission new works of both local and overseas composers. In 1994, the Orchestra marked its first joint concert with the Hong Kong Philharmonic Orchestra (HKPO). Recreation and Culture Branch, Government secretariat (March 1993), *Consultation Paper: Arts Policy Review Report*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer, Annex 2 (P.5); *Hong Kong 1994: A Review of 1993*, p.342; and *Hong Kong 1995: A Review of 1994*, p.381.

95. Wang Hui-ran is a very prominent composer, performer and conductor from China. He first became famed internationally for his composition for the pipa, the *Dance of Yi*. The work is now a classic for pipa solo. Wang is also known for his research in instrument renovation, instrument design and performance techniques. He Qing-wei (1984), "Wang Hui-ran Conducting the Hong Kong Chinese Orchestra" in *Chinese Music*, December, Vol.7, No.4, p.79.

96. Since the beginning of the 1990s, cultural exchanges between Hong Kong and Chinese musicians have been more frequent. For example, in the Hong Kong Arts Festival of 1990 and 1991, Chén Xiè-yáng, previously the conductor of the Shanghai Symphonic Orchestra and resident in Hong Kong in December 1989, was the guest conductor of the HKCO. Chén also had two performances with the HKCO in the New Territories in March 1991. In between, Chén also had thirty mini-concerts with the Orchestra performed in various schools (Xià 1991:106). A troupe of thirty priests and musicians from the China Conservatory of Music arrived in Hong Kong and performed Taoist music at Shatin Town Hall on August 8 & 9, 1994 (Chiu 1994, Review:9 in *South China Morning Post*). The Chinese National Chamber Music of the Shanghai Conservatory of Music had two performances in Hong Kong in January 1995 (*Ming Pao*, January 5, 1995, p.C5). The HKCO also have joint performances with Mainland musicians. For example, Shí Shū-chéng, a famous pianist and conductor of the Beijing Central Philharmonic Orchestra, played for a performance of "Yellow River Piano Concerto" with the HKCO in December 1994 (*Ming Pao*, December 16, 1994, p.G6).

97. The APA is a major higher institution for professional training in the performing arts in Hong Kong. The site of the Academy in Wanchai was given by the Hong Kong Government which meets the recurrent costs of running the APA. The Royal Hong Kong Jockey Club donated HK$300 million to cover the construction costs of the building. Emphasis is placed on both Western and Chinese performing arts. The APA comprises the School of Dance, School of Drama, School of Music and School of Technical Arts (Theatre and Television/Film). Each school has a School Board to make recommendations relating to the work of the School to the Academic Board. In the 1993-1994 academic year, 584 students were enrolled in full-time courses and 812 gifted students in school age in junior courses in dance and music. The School of Music has comprehensive training for students who intend to be professional performers, composers or teachers of music. The School of Music offers the following full-time courses: Bachelor of Fine Arts (BFA) for 3 years; Diploma for 2 years; Advanced Diploma for 2 years; Professional Diploma for 1 or 2 years; and Certificate Courses. Students should normally have completed the two-year Diploma Course before commencing the Degree Course. *The Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts Prospectus (1993-1995)*, pp.4, 6, 94 & 96; and *Hong Kong 1994: A Review of 1993*, pp.345-346.

98. For the academic year of 1992-1993 in the APA, among these Chinese musicians were: Zhou Yan-jia from Xian, Yu Qiu-wei from Guangdong, Qiu Da-cheng from Beijing Music Conservatory, Chao Chun-ting from Hangzhou and many others. The Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts (1993) *The Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts Annual Report: June 1992 to June 1993*, Hong Kong: The Council of the Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts, p.28.

99. In the 1990s, more Taiwanese musicians were invited to give their performances in Hong Kong. For example, the Hong Kong Arts Festival lasted for 22 days running from October to November 1993 with 10 distinguished music groups from China, Taiwan and Hong Kong performing traditional, ethnic Chinese music and contemporary music works. The highlights of the Festival were mainly performed by Mainland Chinese musicians, such as performances by the Central Philharmonic Orchestra and the Inner Mongolian Chorus (*Hong Kong 1994: A Review of 1993*, p.349).

100. Teresa Tang died of asthma in May 1995. Originally Tang came from Taiwan but she won her fame in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Mainland China beginning in the 1970s. According to Xǔ (1995: 51), Tang is an important figure and cannot be forgotten in the development of Mainland Chinese popular music, i.e. after the establishment of the PRC in 1949. The melody of Tang's most popular music, as recognised by Xǔ (1995: 52), was actually very simple without any complicated technique in its arrangement.

However, once interpreted by her genius, technique and her heavenly voice, they all became classics. For all Chinese societies all over world, the death of Tang was regarded as a great loss to Chinese popular music. Nevertheless, the PRC authorities ordered that the case of Tang's death should be treated as "low-profile" because Tang was labelled as an "anti-communist" figure against Mainland China. Consequently, Mainland Chinese newspapers, particularly the political party ones such as *People's Daily* (Rénmín Rìbào) and *Gwongming Daily* (Guāngmíng Rìbào), did not mention of the death of Teresa Tang or mentioned it only for a few words (Liáng 1995: 59).

101. Cuī, Shǎo-míng (1984) "Can The New Music Hit Have a Breakthrough from the Beatles?" (Xīng Yuècháo Néng Yàdǎo Pītóusì Ma?) in *The Seventies* (Qīshí Niándài), No.170, March, 1984, pp.36-38; and Liú, Yuán-tú (1984), "Can the American-British Popular Music Become a Strong Force?" (Yīngmě Xīnyīn Cháohuì Yáohàn Xiānggǒng Ma?) in *The Seventies* (Qīshí Niándài), No.170, March, pp.38-40.

102. The Basic Law Drafting Committee and Basic Law Consultative Committee were set up in 1985 to commencing the drafting of the Basic Law and to examine public opinions on the drafts of the Basic Law. The first draft was published in April 1988 and second draft in February 1989. The Basic Law is regarded as a "mini-constitution" for the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (SAR) after 1997. The Basic Law suggests that the SAR will enjoy a high degree of autonomy and that the capitalist system and way of life in Hong Kong will remain unchanged for fifty years after July 1, 1997. *Hong Kong 1994: A Review of 1993*, p.49; Cottrell, R. (1993) *The End of Hong Kong: The Secret Diplomacy of Imperial Retreat*, London:John Murray (Publishers) Ltd, pp.188-190; and Segal, Gerald (1995) *The Fate of Hong Kong*, London: Simon & Schuster Ltd, pp.53-55.

103. There were other protests against Japanese militarism during the mid 1990s. In August 1995, there was a demonstration against the promotion of Japanese militarism offered in several big Hong Kong's karaoke bars. Lyrics of these military songs such as "victory will inevitably be ours" and "we will never regret [joining the war]" are incorporated to spread the idea of militarism. Au Pak-kuen, vice-president of the Professional Teachers' Union, notes that Japanese culture is not objected to but the introduction of Japanese culture should not include militarism such as military songs. Kowk, Shirley & Low, Alan (1995), "Japanese Military Songs Banned" in *South China Morning Post*, August 12, pp.1 & 14.

104. Information on popular Cantonese music came from Choi Po-king, "Popular Culture" in Wong, Richard Y.C. & Cheng, Joseph Y.S. (1990), *The Other Hong Kong Report:1990*, Hong Kong: The Chinese

University of Hong Kong, pp.537-564. The Hong Kong film "*Graffiti*", starring Raymond Tso Wing-lim, Kevin Cheng Ka-wing and Zoe Chan Ngan-ming, presents the evolution of Hong Kong local popular music including Mandarin songs, English songs to Cantonese songs from the 1960s to the 1990s. Chao, Benson (1995), "Golden Days of Local Music" in *South China Morning Post: Young Post*, March 3, p.12.

105. Recognising the Mandarin music market in Taiwan, mainland China, and other Southeast Asian countries, Jacky Cheung has been steered to record albums in Mandarin in the early 1990s. Cheung is the first Mandarin singer to be focused in a cover story in *Billboard* magazine. Wester, Michael (1994), "Making Waves in Mandarin" in *Free China Review*, June, pp.10-11.

106. The Hong Kong Coliseum, managed by the council, is able to hold 12,500 seats. The Coliseum is not only for pop concerts by local and international performers, but also for world-class entertainers. Highlights of the year 1994 included concerts by local pop stars Andy Lau, Faye Wong and Aaron Wong; overseas artists Bryan Adams and Bob Dylan; as well as famous pop groups Air Supply, Chage and Aska, Duran Duran and Santana. The annual World Women's Volleyball Supper Challenge Cup and popular family entertainment programmes such as *Walt Disney's World on Ice*, were also held. *Hong Kong 1994: A Review of 1993*, p.390; and Choi, Po-king, "Popular Culture" in Wong, Richard Y.C. & Cheng, Joseph Y.S. (1990), *The Other Hong Kong Report:1990*, Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, p.543-545.

107. Information from *Next Magazine*, June 29, 1989, p.16; cited by Choi (1990: 539).

108. For further detailed information about the works of Lin Sheng-shih, Huang Yau-tai and China Pui-fang, see Law, Daniel Ping-leung (1991), "Hong Kong" in Ryker, Harrison (ed.) *New Music in the Orient: Essays on Composition in Asia since World War II*, Buren: Frits Kunf Publishers, pp.226-229.

109. The year 1992 marked the tenth anniversary of the Council for the Performing Arts. Chan Wing-wah used this term to describe the rapid increase of contemporary Hong Kong music composition for the past ten years. *Performing Arts in Hong Kong: A Decade of Development*, 1993, p.32.

110. Being accepted as a member of the Asian Composers' League, the Hong Kong Composers Guild attempted to be a member of other international organisation. In October 1984, Hong Kong was recognised as a full nation section of the international Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM) (Law 1991: 245).

111. The Hong Kong Philharmonic Orchestra (HKPO) was renamed from the Sino-British Orchestra in 1974. The Orchestra is solely funded from the Urban Council with contributions from major business corporations. It runs regular concerts at the Hong Kong Cultural Centre, the City Hall and in various schools and cultural venues in the New Territories. The Orchestra made its first visit to Taiwan in May 1993. It also went for a tour to Beijing in March 1994, followed by performances in Macau's International Festival in October 1994. During the 1993-1994 season, the Orchestra presented a varied programme of classical and contemporary works. Recreation and Culture Branch (March 1993), *Consultation Paper: Arts Policy Review Report*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer Annex (p.4); *Hong Kong 1994: A Review of 1993*, Hong Kong: Government Printer, pp.241-342; and *Hong Kong 1995: A Review of 1994*, Hong Kong Government Printer, p.381.

112. Recently, Beijing has had the "Hit of Chinese Serious Music". Two concerts for serious music were held in Beijing Bǎo Lì Building and were full. In order to meet the demand of audiences, the Beijing Music Hall was organised for performing serious music daily, running from April to the end of May 1995. *Sing Tao Daily*, April 10, 1995, p.A10.

113. Jīn refers this case to Mainland China but I suggest that the marketing of Hong Kong serious music can also be done in Hong Kong.

114. Eric Pun was trained as a lawyer in Hong Kong but he dedicated himself to the development of local Hong Kong musicals since the mid 1980s. In 1989 he went to New York Manhattan School of Music to get a master degree in jazz and commercial music. In Pun's recent musicals, he also involves himself in Hong Kong politics. In the 1990s, Eric Pun promotes a distinctive indigenous local art: Broadway-styled Cantonese musical. In 1994, Pun's recent production, "The Kids, The Winds and The City" was staged in Hong Kong, with the combination of music, dance, Cantonese conversation, and jokes playing on Hong Kong politics in the story. Rosario, Louise do, "Staging Politics" in *Far Eastern Economic Review*, September 1, 1994, p.86.

115. Friederichs (1991: 201) refers this case to the general Hong Kong education system and she does not specifically make the reference to Hong Kong music education.

ENDNOTES FOR PART TWO

1. *People's Daily*, overseas edition, (Rénmín Rìbào Hǎiwàibǎn), September 28 & 29, 1984.

2. *Wen Wei Pao* (Hong Kong), November 12, 1984, p.2; and Davis, Ken (89/90), "A Question of Confidence" in *China Now*, No.132, Winter, p.13.

3. The support from the Hong Kong University was advertised in *Hong Kong Economic Journal* on May 24, 1989, and *Wen Wei Pao*(Hong Kong) on May 25, 1989. The faculty of Education of the Hong Kong Chinese University also advertised to support to the Beijing Students' Movement *Wen Wei Pao* (Hong Kong) and *Ming Pao Daily* on May 23, 1989.

4. *Ming Pao* on May 23, 1989.

5. The Association of the Principals of Government Secondary Schools stated that it fully supported "the student patriotic movement for democracy in China" and "resolutely protest[ed] against any suppression of the peaceful demonstration" in *South China Morning Post* on May 24, 1989.

6. Po Leung Kuk CFA No.1 College (*Ming Pao* & *Fai Pao* on May 23, 1989); Carmel Alison Lam Foundation Secondary School, Shing Kung Hui Holy Trinity Church Secondary School, St. Francis Xavier's College, Shing Kung Hui Tsui Kung Po Secondary School (*Ming Pao* on May 25, 1989); Notre Dame College, Diocesan Boys Schools (Junior Form III students), Po Leung Kuk Lee Shing Pik College (*Fai Pao*, May 27, 1989); Buddhist Kok Lee Shing Pik College, Leung Sing Tak College (*Ming Pao*, May 29, 1989); Pui Ying Middle School (*Fai Pao*, June 6, 1989), Lai Chack Middle School (*Fai Pao*, June 7, 1989), Diocesan Boys' School (*Wen Wei Pao*, June 7, 1989), Ho Lap College and Shing Kung Hui Li Ping Secondary School (*Ming Pao*, June 7 1989), etc.

7. *Wen Wei Pao* (Hong Kong) on May 25, 1989, *Tai Kung Pao* (Hong Kong) on May 25, 1989, *Economy Daily* on May 25, 1989, *Wen Wei Pao* (Hong Kong) and *Ming Pao* on May 27, 1989.

8. Examples included *Wen Wei Pao*, (Hong Kong) on May 23 1989, *South China Morning Post* on May 24, 1989, *South China Morning Post* on May 30, 1989, and *Ming Pao* on May 30, 1989, etc.

9. The Kwangtung provincial Bank, a PRC governmental bank run in Hong Kong, advertised its support to the Beijing students in *Ming Pao* on May 24, 1989.

10. *Wen Wei Pao* (Hong Kong) which is a PRC governmental newspaper, May 23, 1989.

11. The officers of the Kwangtung Province Association (Hong Kong area) sent an open letter to other Chinese provinces to ask for their support of the Beijing Student Movement. The association outlined five ultimate aims for their support: (1) to deem the students' movement as a patriotic and democratic movement; (2) to support freedom of expression in the press; (3) to support democracy and freedom; (4) to protest strongly against military suppression in the PRC; and (5) to urge the PRC authorities to hold an official meeting to discuss the imminent problems of the PRC. *Wen Wei Pao* (Hong Kong), *Ming Pao* Daily and *Dai Kung Pao* (Hong Kong) on May 23, 1989.

12. Huárùn Jítuán Yǒuxián Gōngsī (Wayun Limited Company) which is a PRC run company in Hong Kong but its staff advertised their opposition to the use of violence in suppressing students' protests in *Wen Wei Pao* (Hong Kong) on May 26, 1989.

13. About one-fifth of Hong Kong people (out of a total of 6 million) participated in the demonstration. Yeh, Milton, D., "Hong Kong's 1997 Deadline and Its Probable Impact on Taiwan" in *Issues and Studies*, Vol.26, No.8, August 1990, p.111.

14. Martin Lee is an outspoken activist, politician and barrister. He has been a political campaigner calling for full democracy in Hong Kong since his appointment to Hong Kong's Legislative Council as representative of the legal profession in late 1985. On August 15, 1995, Martin Lee was refused a visa to enter China to attend an international conference. Hewitt, Duncan (89/90), "Martin Lee: Counter-revolutionary or Democrat?" in *China Now*, No.132, Winter, p.7; Lam, J. (Jan.- Dec. 1993), "Hong Kong's Divergent Tensions" in *The World Today*,Vol.49, pp.176-179; Rosario, Louise do (1995), "Thorn in the Side: Democratic Party continues fo fight China" in *Far Eastern Economic Review*, April 20, p.28; and *Hong Kong Monitor*, Autumn 1995. Szeto Wah was the leader of the Hong Kong Professional Teachers' Union. He is the organiser of the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Chinese Patriotic Pro-democracy Movement and is well-known for organising protests and strikes against the PRC government. Hewitt, Duncan, "Martin Lee: Counter-revolutionary or Democrat?" in *China Now*, Winter 89/90, No.132, p.7; Lam, J. (1993), "Hong Kong's Divergent Tensions" in *The World Today*, Vol.49, Nos.8-9, August-September, pp.176-179; Rosario, Louise do (1995), "Thorn in the Side: Democratic Party continues fo fight China" in *Far Eastern Economic Review*, April 20, p.28; and *Hong Kong Monitor*, Autumn 1995.

15. The Sino-British Joint Declaration maintains that the basic policy of the People's Republic of China regarding Hong Kong is elaborated in a

Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (SAR) by China's National People's Congress (NPC). The Basic Law Drafting Committee and Basic Law Consultative Committee were established in 1985 to engage the drafting of the Basic Law and to examine public views on the drafts of the Basic Law. The Basic Law was promulgated in April 1990 and will come into effect on July 1, 1997. In June 1985, China announced the formation of a Basic Law Drafting Committee in which 59 members from Mainland China and 23 members from Hong Kong managed to draw up a constitutional document to manage Hong Kong after June 1997. The majority of the Hong Kong members were from business and industry in the Committee. According to Kuan (1991: 785), only Martin Lee and Szeto Wah strongly advocated democratic transition in the Committee. With reference, see Cottrell, R. (1993), *The End of Hong Kong: The Secret Diplomacy of Imperial Retreat*, London:John Murray (Publishers) Ltd, p.182; and Kuan, Hsin-chi (1991) "Power Dependence and Democratic Transition: The Case of Hong Kong" in *The China Quarterly*, Vol.128, December, p.785.

16. Paddy Ashdown, the leader of the Social and Liberal Democrats, wrote to Sir Geoffrey Howe in April 1989, accusing the British government of "betraying" Hong Kong and asking for the speeding up a democratic reform in Hong Kong. Ashdown believes that "Britain has moral duty but also a practical duty towards Hong Kong and that duty is to underpin democracy and freedom" (*South China Morning Post*, July 14, 1989, p.7). At the same time, other British newspapers such as the *Times*, the *Independent*, and the *Sunday Times* also urged the British government to democratise Hong Kong (Lo 1990: 108). In 1990, the colonial state started to have conflicts with the PRC authorities over the issue of the introduction of the British Nationality Scheme for 50,000 Hong Kong people who would be provided full British nationality to emigrate to the United Kingdom. The British government also decided to introduce a bill of rights and to widen the scope of electoral reform in the Legislative Council in 1991. On March 4th 1996, British Prime Minister John Major promised that after 1997 Hong Kong Special Administrative Region passport holders would have visa-free visits to the United Kingdom. However, the Editorial of *Ming Pao* argued that it was "nothing more than an administrative arrangement". On the one hand, London could terminate this policy if Hong Kong people abused the status to stay in the UK illegally. On the other hand, British immigration officers have the absolute power to deny entry to the UK to any people (Editorial, *Ming Pao*, March 5th, 1996).

17. Patten proposed a series of political reforms for Hong Kong in his 1992 constitutional package, including two major areas of the 1995 electoral arrangements and executive-legislative relations. This could be described as follows:

    1. the expansion of directly elected seats of the Legislative Council from 18 to 21;

2. the adoption of a one-man-one-vote system in functional constituency elections;
3. the expansion of the scope of functional constituencies to include every working citizen;
4. the abolition of appointed membership in district boards and municipal councils;
5. the formation of an Election Committee composed of directly elected members to the Legislative Council, and
6. the separation of the membership of the Executive and Legislative Councils.

Information from Lam, Jermain T.M. (1995), "Hong Kong's Democratic Challenge" in *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol.17, No.1, June, pp.55. Also see Lo, Shiu-hing (1994), "An Analysis of Sino-British Negotiations Over Hong Kong's Political Reform" in *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol.16, No.2, September, pp.179-182 (Patten's Reform Proposals); and *Hong Kong 1994: A Review of 1993*, pp.16-17.

18. *People's Daily*, overseas edition (Rìbào Hǎiwàibǎn), December 17, 1993, p.5; and Lee, Allen, "The Patten Package: Too Far", in *Far Eastern Economic Review*, April 8, 1993, p.24.

19. Three tier elections involve voting for (a) the Legislative Council, (b) the municipal council and, (c) the district board geographical constituency.

20. According to the survey conducted by *Ming Pao*, 161 out of 261 respondents (i.e. 61.7%) who were candidates of the district boards' election opposed the reorganisation of the three tiers of government elected after 1997. At the same time, 179 respondents (i.e. 68.6%) maintained that they would participate in the election if the PRC dismantled the district boards and established a re-election after 1997. Altogether there were 757 district boards' candidates for this survey but only 261 candidates (i.e. 34.5% of the total) sent their questionnaires back on the deadline of the survey which was on August 31, 1994. *Ming Pao*, September 1, 1994, p.A2.

21. The Preliminary Working Committee (PWC) for the Special Administrative Region Preparatory Committee is described as a "second stove" to advise China on Hong Kong's matters during the transitional period and 57 members were appointed to the Committee. The PWC began with five sub-groups including political, economic, legal, cultural and education, and security issues, and two more were added in July 1994 covering external economic relations and trade relations with China. Loh, Christine (1994), "The Implementation of the Sino-British Joint Declaration" in Donald H. McMillen & Man Si-wai (eds.) *The Other Hong Kong Report 1994*, Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, p.70; and Yeh, Milton D. (1993), "On the Establishment of the preliminary

Working Committee for the Hong Kong SAR Preparatory Committee" in *Issues and Studies*, Vol. 29, No.8, August, pp.123-125.

22. Members of the "pro-China" elite not only comprise leading business people (possibly including some non-Chinese), but also small business people, middle-class citizens and some members of the working class. According to Lo, Shiu Hing (1995: 99), the term "pro-China" elite is attributable to those Hong Kong people who have a strong sense of nationalism or patriotism, and who generally believe that (1) China should recover its sovereignty over Hong Kong; (2) it is very important to have constructive communication between PRC officials and Hong Kong people to tackle any problem; (3) Western-style democracy in Hong Kong and, particularly, in mainland China, is not viable in the short term. Nevertheless, there are different categories of "pro-China" elite to be identified. These include: the 'loyalists' who are primarily uncritical of Beijing's policies, especially towards Hong Kong; the moderate, perhaps even "liberal-minded" intellectuals whose political attitudes are often independent of the Chinese line; the "unstable nationalists/patriots" (defined in the "Great-China" context) who periodically make public critiques embarrassing to Beijing (Lo 1995: 98). For detailed information about "pro-China" elites, see Lo Siu-hing (1995), "A Profile of the 'Pro-China Hong Kong Elite': Images and Perceptions" in *Issues and Studies*, Vol.31, No.6, June 1995, pp.98-100.

23. For further information about the 1995 direct election in Hong Kong, see *South China Morning Post*, September 19, 1995, p.4 and Rosario, Louise do (1995), "Stand Up and Be Counted" in *Far Eastern Economic Review*, September 28, pp.16-18.

24. The Royal Instructions cope with the appointment of members of the Executive and Legislative Councils, the nature of proceedings in the Executive Council, the Governor's responsibility to consult the Executive Council on important policy matters, and his right to act against its advice. They are also concerned with the membership of, and election to, the Legislative Council, the nature of proceedings there, and the nature of legislation which may not be passed. Sources from *Hong Kong 1994: A Review of 1993*, p.18.

25. Szeto, Wah, "Governor's Attitude over Rates Unreasonable," *South China Morning Post*, June 5, 1994, p.15.

26. See Lau, Siu-kai & Kuan, Hsin-chi (1989), *The Ethos of the Hong Kong Chinese*, 2nd Edition, Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, p.103; Lau, Siu-Kai and Kuan, Hsin-chi (1986), "The Changing Political Culture of the Hong Kong Chinese" in Cheng, Joseph (ed.) *Hong Kong in Transition*, Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, p.27; and Wan, Mariana, "Revealed: the Hong Kong Yuppies with a Social Conscience" in *South China Morning Post*, October 10, 1993.

27. According to Scott (1992: 2), the Hong Kong government informed the public that the 1991 Legislative Council elections were "historic" in that they marked the first time for Hong Kong voters to elect some members of the legislature. Also see the preface of Lau, Siu-kai & Louie, Kin-sheun (1993), *Hong Kong Tried Democracy: The 1991 Elections in Hong Kong*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong.

28. Some people argue that the election result, showing the relatively small percentage of registered elections who turned out to vote, might be due to the stuffing of the electoral register with the names of emigrants, the change of residents' address and the substantial numbers of people departed for Canada, Australia, the United State of America and other overseas countries.

29. For example, with a view to discrediting the Hong Kong colonial government's ruling power, the PRC government criticised and attacked the policies launched by the colonial government. China also made use of the element of nationalism to create anti-British sentiment in Hong Kong. See Lam (1995), pp.61-63.

30. The functions of the JIG are to consult over the implementation of the Joint Declaration, to discuss matters to help the smooth transfer of Hong Kong's sovereignty to China in 1997, and to exchange information and conduct consultations on such subjects which may be agreed by both sides. The JIG is a body for liaison, with no administrative power in Hong Kong. It consists of a senior representative and four other members on each side. The JIG had its first meeting in July 1985 and holds plenary sessions at least once a year in Beijing and London, besides Hong Kong. Things to be discussed include defence, land, major franchises and contracts extending beyond 1997, right of abode, travel documents, international rights and obligations, air services agreements, and localisation and adaptation of laws. Sources from *Hong Kong 1994: A Review of 1993*, p.47.

31. The second batch of district affairs advisers has 263 Hong Kong people. In total there are 537 district affairs advisers for the first and second batches. *Ming Pao*, January 10, 1995, p.A4; and *South China Morning Post*, January 11, 1995, p.16.

32. According to Staff of Article 19 (1988:10), Censorship "may or may not be accompanied by violence;..... it may or may not include propaganda." The phenomenon of censorship is common over the world, including undemocratic and democratic countries. For example, censorship can be established with martial law or a state of emergency at the same time. This happened in Turkey in 1971 and 1980, in Sri Lanka in 1979, in the Philippines in 1972, in India in 1975, in Iran in 1988 (ibid:7). According to Howkins (1982: 25), the Communist Party

of the PRC is sensitive to all things relating to "mass communication" and the broadcasting system is related to state and party. The PRC has used the censors of mass media to preserve the authority of the party and to unify the people in China. Even in democratic countries like the United States of America, some laws, presidential orders and regulations serve either to advance or limit the flow of information in the society (see Staff of Article 19, 1988, pp.118-126). Another example found in Great Britain was the 1993 Broadcasting Act which "upset the delicate balance between business and broadcasting" and the establishment of an independent government commission on broadcasting was suggested by Greg Dyke, former chief executive of London Weekend Television (*The Times*, August 27, 1994, P.2).

33. Clark, David (1990), "Sedition and Art. 23" in P. Wesley-Smith (ed.), *Hong Kong's Basic Law: Problems and prospects,* Hong Kong: Faculty of Law, University of Hong Kong, pp.45-6; and Ghai, Yash (1992)"Freedom of Expression" in Wacks, Raymond (ed.),*Human Rights in Hong Kong,* Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, p.372.

34. For example, theatres have to obtain operations permits from the Commissioner for Television and Entertainment Licensing (Ghai 1992: 373). The public exhibition of films has to obtain a certificate by the Film Censorship Authority or a certificate must have been administered by a censor. The Broadcasting Authority, a statutory body established in September 1987, advises the government on the issue of the license for the subscription television service. Such censorship is also extended to radio broadcasting. The Broadcasting Authority supervises a license, the contents of programmes or advertisements (Ghai 1992: 373).

35. Chan and Lee (1991) divided the Hong Kong news media into four categories with different positions about the description of the 1989 June 4th Incident: (1) the ultraleftist press such as *Wei Wen Pao* and *Dai Kung Pao;* (2) the centrist press such as *Ming Pao, Oriental Daily News* and *Sing Pao;* and (3) the rightist press such as *Wah Kiu Yat Pao, Sing Tao, Jih Pao;* and (4) the ultrarightist press such as the *Hong Kong Times.* Chan, Joseph Man & Lee Chin-Chuan (1991) *Mass Media and Political Transition:The Hong Kong Press In China's Orbit,* New York: The Guilford Press, pp.118-130.

36. Jimmy Lai launched his risky business to run the mass-circulation Chinese-language *Apple Daily* beginning on June 20, 1995. Facing the 1997 countdown, *Apple Daily* is believed to be a proof of the "conventional wisdom" that Hong Kong can be "an inhospitable place for independent newspapers" (Karp 1995: 54). *Apple Daily* is patterned loosely on *USA Today,* presenting colour and short articles. Lai has hired 530 employees; among the 380 editorial staff are 80 crime reporters. Recently, reporters from *Apple Daily* were banned by the Chinese authorities from attending a meeting in Beijing on Hong Kong's

future. Karp, Jonathan (1995), "Forbidden Fruit" in *Far Eastern Economic Review*, June 29, pp.54-55 & 58; and *Hong Kong Monitor*, Autumn 1995.

37. Larry Feign is the creator of "Lily Wong", a particularly "anti-Beijing strip", which has been published in the *South China Morning Post* for more than five years. His dismissal was delivered by fax at the weekend. David Armstrong, the editor, explained that "budgetary reasons" were the cause for the dismissal of Feign. *Hong Kong Monitor*, June 1995, p.2; and an investigation into the Hong Kong media scene about the cases of Jimmy Lau and Larry Feign was also reported in the BBC2 programme named *The Spin* viewed on October 25, 1995 (23:20 - 24:00).

38. In 1990, a poll of 500 Hong Kong journalists revealed that only three percent believed that they would be free to report after 1997. Some analysts believe that the signs of censorship are already apparent. In 1992 the chairman of the Newspaper Society in Hong Kong told members of Hong Kong's Legislative Council that, in his opinion, between 70 and 80 percent of senior media executives in Hong Kong were already practising self-censorship. Sources from McGivering, Jill (1993/1994), "Standing up for Press Freedom" in *China Now*, No.147, Winter, pp.14-15.

39. *People's Daily*, overseas edition (Rénmín Rìbào Hǎiwàibǎn), December 10, 1993, p.5.

40. The dimension of human rights involves the acceptance of individual differences, the rights for expressing views and participating in group discussion making. For further details about the definition of human rights claimed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, see Henkin (1986: 9).

41. According to Ching (1995: 36), Britain openly defied a United Nations' request for a report under the ICCPR. Chris Patten, the Governor of Hong Kong, claimed that it was an "unusual situation" in 1994 to submit four human-rights reports to the United Nations. Patten noted that the entire report would be delayed until mid-1995, and this would definitely be Britain's last report on Hong Kong to the United Nations (ibid).

42. The themes for the UN Fourth World Conference on Women were based on three areas: Action for Equalities, Development and Peace. For further information about the Conference, see *China Talk*, Vol.XX, 1st quarter, March, 1995; *China Today*, September 1995, p.7 & pp.16-18; and Kaye, Lincoin (1995), "Common Ground: Delegates search for consensus at women's forum" in *Far Eastern Economic Review*, September 21, p.18.

43. For the background of Chinese law, see Mackerras, Colin (el at) (1994), *China Since 1978: Reform, Modernisation and "Socialism with Chinese Characteristics"*, New York: St. Martin Press, pp.136-137; and Ogden, Suzanne (1989) *China's Unresolved Issues: Politics, Development, and Culture*, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc, pp.188-197.

44. Presently, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London is the court of final appeal in Hong Kong's legal system. Hong Kong courts have the authority to interpret any aspect of law including the Letters Patent and the Royal Instructions - the constitutional documents that outlines the powers of the Hong Kong Government. However, Article 159 of the Basic Law does enable the National Peoples Congress (NPC) to amend the Basic Law. Yee, Albert H (1992), "Martin C M Lee: Testimony to the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee" in *A People Misruled: The Chinese Stepping-Stone Syndrome*, 2nd Edition, Singapore: Heinemann Asia, p.356; and Ghai, Yash, "Basic Flaws in China's Thinking" in *South China Morning Post*, December 14, 1994, p.21.

45. The proposed interim legislature is a very different body which will be constituted by a committee of the PRC. Hong Kong people will not be elected in this legislature and individuals, groups and political parties will not be allowed to take part in the campaign (*South China Morning Post*, December 14, 1994, p.21).

46. The Hong Kong Legislative Council (Legco) rejected an agreement reached by Britain and the PRC on the composition of the Court of Final Appeal (COFA) in Hong Kong on December 4, 1991. The Legco was unhappy with the court's proposed composition: four local judges and one overseas judge. In order to ensure judicial independence, the Legco suggested that more overseas judges were needed (see Rosario 1995: 22 & Rosario 1995: 20). According to Lo (1993: 128), colonial rule did not have an interest in recognising Legco's opinion on the COFA "at the expense of impairing Britain's and Hong Kong's relations with mainland China."

47. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has also intitutionalised a garrison of 8,000-odd crack troops as well as untold numbers of cadres and agents in the territory to keep an eye on the post-1997 Hong Kong. The sources came from Lam, Willy Wo-lap (1994), *South China Morning Post*, December 14, pp.1 & 5, and the same sources also appeared on Lam, Willy Wo-lap (1995), "P.R.C. Grooms Cadres to Grip Hong Kong in 1997" in *Hong Kong Monitor*, March, p.5.

48. For example, the Hong Kong common law has been a considerable influence on China and three of China's ten law schools are specializing in the study of Hong Kong's laws. *Gazette*, Weekly Journal of the Law Society, Vol.92/37, October 18, 1995, p.48.

49. Goehr (1993) has used the terms "freedom to" and "freedom from", in explaining musical autonomy. Goehr describes these two terms as freedom for music to speak about the extra-musical "Other" as well as music's freedom from the dictate of this "Other". Goehr, Lydia (1993), "Music Has No Meaning to Speak Of: On the Politics of Musical Interpretation" in Krausz, Michael (ed.) *The Interpretation of Music: Philosophical Essays*, New York: Oxford University Press, p.178.

50. According to *Music and Dance Study* (Yīnyuè Yǔ Wǔdǎo Yánjiū) (1989: 37-40), Chinese popular songs were divided into three categories: (1) popular songs for the people; (2) popular songs for commercial products; and (3) popular songs for the public. Chinese popular songs for the people originated from the "revolutionary" songs, like Nie Er's song "Marching Song of the Volunteers" and Xian Xing-hai's "Yellow River Cantata" (ibid, p.37). Chinese popular songs for commercial products were regarded as not "healthy" and were written for singers working in the entertaining services such as bars (ibid, p.37). Chinese popular songs for the public were creative, with new themes and the reflection of the spirit of the time (ibid,p.38). Chinese popular songs for the public are no longer embodied with "Marxist" thinking and are not under the influence of Taiwan and Hong Kong's commercial popular songs (ibid, p.40). According to Jones (1992), Chinese popular songs can be divided into two kinds: (1) tongsu music as the official-sanctioned popular music; and (2) rock and roll as the underground music for political rebellion. Also see Brace, Tim (Fall/Winter 1994/95), "Book Reviews- Andrew F. Jones. *Like A Knife: Ideology and Genre in Contemporary Chinese Popular Music* in *Asian Music*, Vol.XXVI, No.1, pp.215-221; *Ming Pao Monthly Journal*, June 1995, pp.51-58; and Stock, Jonathan (1995), "Reconsidering The Past: Zhou Xuan and the Rehabilitation of Early Twentieth-Century Popular Music" in *Asian Music*, Vol.XXVI, No.2, Spring/Summer, pp.117-135.

51. China had adopted the "closed-door" policy for many centuries. Since the sixteenth century, China started its trade with other European countries and European also came to China for missionary purposes. The 1842 Opium War (Sino-British War) was said to be the first treaty unequal to China. Foreign aggression followed by some other unequal treaties to force China to open its door for trading. This situation continued until the end of the Second War World. As Lully (1991:134) points out, "Foreign occupation and influence have hurt China before." The establishment of Communist China, therefore, endorsed its isolated policy from the outside world, especially the capitalist countries. After the fall of the "Gang of Four" (Chiang Ch'ing, Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-ch'iao & Yao Wen-yüan) and the end of the Cultural Revolution, Deng Xiaoping gained his power again and adopted the "open-door" policy in 1978.

52. Modern Chinese pop songs first came into being in Shanghai in the late 1920s. These early pop songs included jazz, Hollywood film songs, and popular Chinese urban ballads of the entertainment quarters (Wong 1992: 71). Since the late 1970s, popular music from Hong Kong and Taiwan was initially promulgated in Mainland China. The Taiwanese pop tunes of the late 1970s and early 1980s, as noted by Jones (1992: 16), carried certain melodies and textual elements in common with the 1930s film songs promoted in Shanghai but they modernised the pentatonic tunes and sentimental themes of this music with breathy vocal timbres, electric guitars and drums. Brace and Friedlander (1992:117) also characterise *Gangtaiyue* (i.e. Taiwan and Hong Kong's popular music) as follows: "smooth, flowing melodies.....a type of vocal production which was described as the 'middle way'.....between Western full, ringing vocal style and Chinese folksong style; lyrics emphasizing feelings of Love between young men and young women....." Such *Gangtaiyu*, particularly that of Taiwanese singer Teresa Tang has come to ensure her great popularity in mainland China. For the influence of Taiwanese popular music in mainland China, see Wéng, Jiā-míng (1992), *Cóng Luó Dà-zuǒ Dào Cui Jiān* (From Luó Dà-zuǒ to Cuī Jiàn), Taiwan: Shìbào Wénhuà, pp. 243-247. Towards the late 1970s, "disco fever" also influenced musical development in China; dance bands and discotheques have been found in many cities throughout China.

53. For more information about the influence of the popular music of Hong Kong and Taiwan on China from 1980s onwards, see Xǔ Xǔ (1995), "The Turning point and New Moving Force of Mainland Chinese Music" (Zhōngguó Dàlù Liúxíng Yīnyuè De Zhuǎnzhé Yǔ Xīn Dònglì) in *Ming Pao Monthly Journal*, June, pp.57-58.

54. The Xi Bei includes the provinces of Shanxi, Shaanxi and Gansu which are situated in the northwestern part of Mainland China.

55. According to Ramet (1994: 1), the birth of rock music was significant to the Communist world. For example, Václav Havel, former president of Czechoslovakia noted that revolution was marked with rock scene. Local rock stars carried political responsibility in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia in the late 1980s East European revolution. However, the politicisation of rock music is not unique to the communist countries, but also occurs in the United States. Ramet, Sabrina Petra (1994), "Rock: The Music of Revolution (and Political Conformity), in Sabrina Petra Ramet (ed.) *Rocking the State: Rock Music and Politics in Eastern Europe and Russia*, pp.1-14.

56. The success of Cuī Jiàn is said to be paralleled with the Britain Beatles's singer, John Lennon. Wéng, Jiā-míng (1992), *Cóng Luó Dà-zuǒ Dào Cui Jiān* (From Luó Dà-zuǒ to Cuī Jiàn), Taiwan: Shìbào Wénhuà, p.206.

57. The lyrics are from Jones, Andrew (1992), pp.134-145; and also Jones, Andrew (1994), pp.155-156.

58. Chong (1991: 11) interprets the song "The Last Shot" which reflects the will of a soldier who is fired by a gun will be his last shot. For the English translations of the song "The Last Shot", see Chong (1991: 11).

59. Chow (1993: 395) also mentions Luó Dà-zoŭ whose music also belongs to this category. Luó is a song writer who came from Taiwan and settled in Hong Kong in 1984. In 1991, his song named "Huánghòu Dà Dào Zhōng" (East Queens Road) won popularity in Hong Kong. Luó also introduced his political ideology in his songs. Fāng, Sāo, "Politicized Popular songs: From Taiwan to Hong Kong: An Interview with Luó Dà-yòu" (Zhèngzhì Liúxíng Qū: Cóng Táiwān Dào Xiāng Gŏng) in *The Nineties* (Jiŭshí Niándài), No.260, September, 1991, pp.66-68; and Wēng, Jiā-míng (1992), *Cóng Luó Dà-yòu Dào Cuī Jiàn* (From Luó Dà-yòu to Cuī Jiàn), Taiwan: Shíbào Wénhuà Chūbăn Qĭyè Yŏuxiàn Gōngsī, pp.19-30.

60. In December 1986, tremendous student demonstrations happened in fifteen major cities in China. One hundred thousand students from 150 colleges and universities marched in the streets and asked for freedom of speech, assembly, and the press as well as democratic elections. The students' message was that "the Chinese youths wanted political liberalisation" (see Hsü 1990: 873-888). In 1987, Cuī was described as "a victim" of the Chinese Communist Party's "Anti-Bourgeois Liberalisation Campaign" (Jones 1992: 94).

61. The British Broadcasting Corporation later produced a film on Cuī Jiàn, as did an independent U.S. documentary film-maker, whose film, *No More Disguise*, was shown on New York public television in 1989 (see Wong 1992: 72).

62. Besides Cuī Jian's contribution to Chinese rock music, there are also some other Chinese rock singers/bands who have also promoted this type of music in China during the late 1980s and 1990s, for example, the Black Panther who is named as the Chinese Bon Jovi (Hēi Bào), "Tang Dynasty" (Táng Cháo), "Women's Band" (Yăojìng Shé), and other singers like Dòu Wĕi, Zhāng Chŭ, Hé Yŏng who are named as "The Three Magical Heros" (Móyán Sānxiá) , and Ai Jìng, etc. The "Women's Band" was regarded as the only famous women's band in China and they were invited by the Australian "Chinese Arts Festival" to give a performance in February, 1992 (Wēng 1992: 238-242). For the recent development of Chinese rock music, see Jones (1994: 157-158); Duān in *Ming Pao Monthly Journal*, May 1994, pp.113-115; and *Ming Pao*, November 21, 1994, p.B4.

63. In Chinese history, Tang Dynasty (618-907) exhibits the climate of traditional Chinese civilsation. The musical exchange between China and non-Western countries was frequent and common during the Tang period. The writer of the thesis has briefly discussed the development of music in the Tang Dynasty in Chapter Two, pp.54-55.

64. Since Wham, the British band, gave a performance in Beijing in 1985, the Beijing authorities had not given a permit to any Western popular or rock band to perform in China. Roxette, the Swedish popular band, was permitted to have a performance in Beijing Stadium in February 1995 by the Cultural Department of the PRC. The concert was full and the price of one ticket was 600 yuan which was equal to the monthly salary of the ordinary people. In 18 March 1995, an Austrian rock band performed in Beijing. Moreover, Brecker, a rock band from the United States, gave a concert in Beijing in March 21, 1995. This demonstrates that the PRC government has adopted a more open attitude towards foreign rock and roll music and the Chinese rock and roll music is still flourishing in China at the moment. *Ming Pao*, December 21, 1994, p.B3; and *Sing Tao* Daily, April 10, 1995, p.A10.

65. Wilson (1990: 220) means the "former opponents" of China and Hong Kong.

66. Anita Mui had a solo concert series, which ran from July to August, 1990, and two songs "Descendants of the Dragon" and "Blood-stained Glory" were sung and dedicated to the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident in the concerts.

67. The twelve-hour "Concert for Democracy in China" staged in the Happy Valley was produced and edited on video by the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movement (HKASPDM). This video lasts for two hours long and consists of twenty-six uplifting songs about the advocation of freedom and democracy (four are English songs: "We Shall Overcome", "Only You", "My Way" and "The Greatest Love of All" and others are Cantonese and Mandarin songs). The video has been sold in public.

68. The post-democratic concerts were also held overseas. For example, there was a "Rememberable Music Concert of Chinese Sadness" in New York on December 16, 1989. This concert was considered as one of the greatest overseas performances for supporting the post-democracy movement in Mainland China. There were 14 choruses and near 300 Chinese singers from America and Asia in this performance. The concert was full. However, Yáng Shì-shí, a co-ordinator of the concert, expressed his sorrow after the concert. He said that the concert aimed at getting money for post-democracy Chinese students movement but he hoped that there was no such incident of the 4th of June and no such rememberable concert evermore. Huáng, Fǔ-táng (1989), "The

Rememberable Music Concert of Chinese Sadness" (Niǔyuē: Guóshāng Jìniān Yīnyuè Huì) in *Ming Pao Monthly Journal* (Míng Bào Yuè Kān), Vol.24, No.12, pp.89-91. In May 1990, a net amount of U.S.$ 380,000 was donated in a U.S.-Canada six-city Concerts for Democracy in China tour. These funds were donated to North American-Chinese democracy associations in the United States and Canada (Lee 1992: 139).

69. On May 23, 1989, there was 150 Hong Kong leading singers and entertainers who gathered together to record the song "All For Freedom" in the EMI studio in Hong Kong. This was the first version of "All For Freedom". The second version of the song "All For Freedom" was finished on May 24, 1989. Every singer took a solo phrase and the extended version lasted twelve and a half minutes. However, the release of "All For Freedom" as a cassette took place in late June 1989. According to Lee (1992: 133), the late release of the song "For Freedom" was because of negotiations regarding royalties and rights among record companies of these 150 singers belonging to different record companies. Finally, the copyright of the recording "All For Freedom" was donated to the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movement in China. The song "All For Freedom" entered the pop chart in the last week of May 1989, and went to the top for the consequent three weeks. See Lee (1992: 133-135; and Liáng (1989: 54).

70. The song of "All For Freedom" (Cǐ Zìyóu) was composed by Lowell Lo, Chinese lyrics by Tàng Shū-chén and translated by Patricia Snipe.

71. According to Lee (1992: 137), Danny Summer's album, *You Awake My Soul,* is the first commercially released Cantopop album in which half of the songs are devoted to the Chinese democracy movement. The album was released in mid-July 1989 but did not have very good sales. The song, "Mama I've Done Nothing Wrong," was released to the radio stations by early June 1989. It was among the Top Thirty on Hong Kong pop charts for almost two months.

72. The HKASPDMC was a new grouping asking for the People's Liberation Army in Beijing not to fight against Chinese civilians but to withdraw from Tiananmen Square. Wilson, Dick (1990), *Hong Kong! Hong Kong!*, London: Unwin Hyman, p.220 and *Ming Pao* and *Wen Wei Pao* (Hong Kong) on June 6, 1989.

73. "Péng" refers to Premier Lǐ Péng of Mainland China.

74. The Chinese lyrics of the song "Kind-hearted Péng is spending his Christmas" are quoted from Shā Míng, "The Social Reality of Hong Kong Political Popular Songs" (Xiāng Gǒng Zhèngzhì Liúxíng Qū De Shèhuì Jíjīng) in *The Nineties* (Jiǔshí Niándài) No.242, March, 1990, pp.98-99. Chinese lyrics are written by Lam Man-chung and translated by Ho Wai-chung.

75. According to Rosario (1995: 28), Zuni Icosahedron is the "Hong Kong most controversial and avant-garde arts group". In 1990, Zuni was invited to the United States to perform a critical play about the 1989 pro-democratic movement in Beijing but it was firstly refused a visa by American officials. Eventually the Zuni group was allowed into the United States. Rosario also says that Zuni appears as "a vocal critic of the bureaucrats who manage Hong Kong's cultural affairs" (1995: 28).

76. Danny Yung highlights the fact that the arts are also important for the future development of Hong Kong's industries. He emphasises that art is not "only an embellishment of Hong Kong life but also is crucial for the city's economic well-being". This should be recognised by Hong Kong politicians and bureaucrats (Rosario 1995: 28).

77. This refers to the eight revolutionary pieces in the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), advocated by Jiang Qing. The writer of the thesis has discussed the eight revolutionary pieces in Chapter Two, pp.73-74.

78. Civic education had not been discussed in Hong Kong for some thirty years until the *Guidelines of Civic Education* was published in 1985. The first introduction of civic education in the curriculum as a school subject was regarded as a tool of educational and political propaganda against communist activity, especially after the setting-up of the Chinese Communist government in 1949. At that time, the Hong Kong Teachers' Association was one of the devoted anti-communist weapons in society. As anti-communist propaganda, civic education was emphasised together with the need for alternatives to communist songs. Hong Kong students were encouraged to cultivate a civic spirit concerning Hong Kong itself, rather than having loyalty to Mainland China. Morris, Paul & Sweeting, Anthony (1991), "Education and Politics: the Case of Hong Kong from an Historical Perspective" in *Oxford Review of Education*, Vol.17, No.3, pp.252-255; and Choi, Po-king (1990), "A Search for Cultural Identity: The Students' Movement of the Early Seventies" in Sweeting, Anthony (ed.), *Differences and Identities Educational Argument in Late Twentieth Century Hong Kong*, Hong Kong: Faculty of Education, University of Hong Kong, pp.83-86.

79. The study of civic education, political education and political socialisation may have some overlapping whereas these three subjects also provide separate domains of study to some extent. In this thesis, the writer argues that civic education should include political education and political socialisation in secondary schools. According to the *Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools* (1985), the nature of politics is explained in diverse ways by various people at different time. The *Guidelines* (1985) says if the definition of politics given by Dr. Sun Yixian is accepted, there is no point in attempting to distinguish civic education from political education since civic education must be fundamentally political in nature. The *Guidelines* (1985) only has made

differentiation between political education and political indoctrination. *Guidelines on Civic Education in schools* (1985), Hong Kong: Government Printer, pp.7-8. Cheung (1991: 19) argues that the meaning of political education is dependent on the context. It is difficult to search for a common definition and give a satisfactory answer. Cheung (1991) also identifies the meaning of political education by summarising the ideas of various scholars. For further details about the definition of political education, see Cheung, Wing-hung (September 1991) ,"Political Education Through Social Inquiry" in *School Civic Education Bulletin*, Issue No.4, Hong Kong: Civic Education Standing Committee Education Department, pp.19-20.

80. In the academic year of 1993-1994, the survey was conducted by questionnaires in fifty secondary schools for 4865 respondents studying Form 5 (i.e. age 16-17) and Form Seven (i.e. age 18). In the survey, students could on average answer 1.39 questions out of 8 questions about Chinese politics; whilst they could answer 14.72 questions out of 27 questions about Hong Kong politics. Most students also did not recognise a loyalty to China. *Sing Tao* Daily, December 9, 1995, p.B17.

81. For further comments on the new draft *Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools* (1996), see *Ming Pao*, February 8, 1996, p.B8; and *Professional Teachers' Union News*, No.316, January 29, 1996, p.1.

82. In 1992 Liberal Studies was first introduced as an A-level supplementary subject in the curriculum to stress political consciousness explicitly.

83. **Table 5.1** Distribution of SBCP Projects Completed

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY PROJECTS

Subject	Primary	Secondary	Total
Languages	11	22	33
Math/Computer	12	12	24
Civic Ed/EPA/Social Studies	0	22	22
General Studies	16	0	16
Science Subjects	0	11	11
History/Geography	0	23	23
Music	5	3	8
Physical Education	4	12	16
Arts & Craft	21	10	41
Gardening	0	2	2
Multiple Subjects	0	3	3
Total	69	120	189

Number of Special Education Projects: 37
Number of Kindergarten Projects: 16

Information from Law, Hing-chung and Yu, Ka-wai (1994), "Some Observations on the School-based Curriculum Project Scheme" in Lam, C.C., Hon, H.S., Ho, M.K., Man, E.Y.F. & Sze, P.M. (eds.) *Proceedings of the Conference on Curriculum Changes in Hong Kong: The Needs of the New Era*, Hong Kong: Curriculum Development Institute, Education Department, p.122. In the academic year of 1995, there were to be 55 school-based curricular projects implemented in 39 secondary schools, 13 primary schools and 3 kindergartens (*Wen Wei Pao*, July 10, 1995).

84. There is no Chinese Literature for junior form students to study. The learning of Chinese Literature is available only for those Arts students who take it as an elective subject during their senior forms.

85. Since 1992, all sixth form courses last two years and offer students a broader range of subjects at advanced and advanced supplementary level (ASL). In September 1992, ASL music was introduced as a new subject, bringing the number of subjects available to 22 at advanced level and 18 at AS-level. *Hong Kong 1994: A Review of 1993*, 1994, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer, p.141.

86. The ILE offers full-time and part-time language-related courses and seminars for serving teachers of Chinese (including Putonghua) and English; conducts policy-research and development work; provides a resource centre for language teachers; publishes a professional journal, books and newsletters; offers consultancy services on languages in education; and organizes an annual international conference. *Hong Kong 1994: A Review of 1993*, Hong Kong Government Printer, pp.144-145.

87. According to the *Education Commission Report No.3*, there are three types of private secondary school, namely, non-profit-making private secondary schools, private independent secondary schools (as self-financing bodies) and "international" schools (schools offering curricula designed for the needs of a particular cultural or linguistic group). As classified by the Education Department, private independent secondary schools in which the government buys places are further divided into three categories in terms of the quality of the places they provide as follows:
(a) Category A - those with proper facilities and buildings, judged capable of providing education of a reasonable standard;
(b) Category B - those which, although mostly housed in their own buildings, are not judged capable of fully providing education of a reasonable standard; and
(c) Category C - those which provide less than satisfactory education and lack proper facilities and buildings.

For references, see *Education Commission Report 3*, June 1988, pp.45-47; *Sing Tao* Daily, November 10, 1991; *Wah Kiu Yat Pao*, October 21, 1991; and *Dai Kung Pao*, May 4, 1992.

88. *Wen Wei Pao*, March 6, 1993; and *Wah Kiu Yat Pao*, December 20, 1993.

89. The Finance Committee of the Legislative Council consists of the Chief Secretary as the chairman, the Financial Secretary and 56 non-official members. *Hong Kong 1994: A Review of 1993*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer, 1993, p.20.

90. *Fai Pao*, May 1, 1992; *Dai Kung Pao*, May 4, 1992; *Wah Kiu Yat Pao*, May 5, 1992; and *Wen Wei Pao*, May 5, 1992; and *Ming Pao* May 6, 1992.

91. *Wah Kiu Yat Pao*, May 5, 1992; *Ming Pao*, May 6, 1992; and *Teachers' World* (Jiàoshī Shìjiè), Vol.9, 1992.

92. The Heungdao Secondary School was regarded as a pro-Beijing private secondary school in Hong Kong. The study of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought was treated as ideological and political indoctrination in school.

93. The Hong Kong Federation of Education Workers is considered as a pro-Beijing organisation.

94. Education Commission, *Education Commission Report No.3*, June 1988, para.4.22 (p.55).

95. Hong Kong's School Management Initiative (SMI) learnt from the system of the Local Management of Schools (LMS) which is the form of school-based management carried out in England, Wales and Northern Ireland. The LMS was introduced by the 1988 Education Reform Act in the United Kingdom. According to Levacić (1995: 7-8), the LMS was fully implemented and completed in all schools of England and Wales by April 1993, except inner London where it was completed by April 1995. The arrangements for the management of schools cover the following headings: (1) financial delegation; (2) open enrolment; (3) performance indicators; (4) financial delegations; and (5) staffing (Strain 1990: 20).

96. The version of the *Education Regulations* of February 2nd, 1995 (No.98 (1) and (2)) is the same as the *Education Regulations* of December 31st, 1993.

97. *Hong Kong 1994: A Review of 1993*, 1994:145; amd *Hong Kong 1995: A Review of 1994*, p.167.

98. For more information about the CDC, see *Hong Kong 1994: A Review of 1993*, Hong Kong: Government Printer, p.132; *Hong Kong 1995: A*

Review of 1994, Hong Kong: Government Printer, p.153; and Education & Manpower Branch, Government Secretariat (December 1994), *A Guide to Education and Training in Hong Kong*, Hong Kong: Government Printer, p.7.

99. For information about the CDI, see *Hong Kong 1994: A Review of 1993*, Hong Kong: Government Printer, pp.132-133; *Hong Kong 1995: A Review of 1994*, Hong Kong: Government Printer, pp.153-154; and Education & Manpower Branch, Government Secretariat (December 1994), *A Guide to Education and Training in Hong Kong*, Hong Kong: Government Printer, pp.7-8.

100. This was a passage of 80 Chinese characters translated by the writer of the thesis from Yú, Yán-guāng & Chén, Wěi-míng (1994) *Chinese History*, Vol.3, Hong Kong: Manhattan Press, p.122.

101. Wong Shing-wah finished his post for the Director of Education in November 1994.

102. Au Pak-kuen, a member of the Curriculum Development Council, questions why many incidents which happened within the last 20 years are included in the existing textbooks but not the case of the 1989 Tiananmen Square. These examples include the arrest of Mao Zedong's wife, Jiang Qing, of the Gang of Four, in 1976; the reform policy launched by Deng Xiaoping in 1978; the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984. Lee, Stella, Ng, Kang-chung & Ng, Catherine, "Education Chief to be Quizzed on Textbook Cuts" in *South China Morning Post*, July 2, 1994, p.1.

103. Information from *Ming Pao*, September 1, 1994, P.A8. The text of the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident was translated by the writer of the thesis.

104. In the draft of the Basic Law, the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) is allowed to maintain its education system previously practised in Hong Kong. The HKSAR also has its own policies in the fields of culture, education, science and technology. For further details, see *A Draft Agreement between Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of the People's Republic of China on the Future of Hong Kong*, 26 September 1984, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer, p.21 (Section X).

105. *Sing Tao* Daily, November 16, 1994; *Ming Pao*, November 27, 1994; and Kowk, Shirley (1994), "New Schools of Thought: Beyond 2000 Integration of Hong Kong and China" in *South China Morning Post*, December 10.

106. The PRC government has also adopted the "one country, two systems" formula for its reunification with the Republic of China (ROC) government (i.e.the Taiwan government). However, there are different attitudes among the Taiwan government towards the reunification with mainland China. According to Yeh (1990: 116), the changes in Hong Kong after 1997 will have little influence on Taiwan if the Taiwan government refuses to "readjust" its policy to that proposed by the PRC and "face up to the challenges of the Chinese mainland and the world in a flexible way." Nevertheless, leaders of Taiwan and the PRC have made proposals for the "improvement of cross-Straits relations and reiterations of their resolutions to pursue Chinese unification" by early January in 1996 (Su in *The Free China Journal*, January 6, 1996, p.2).

107. Yú, Yán-guāng & Chén, Wěi-míng (1994) *Chinese History*, Vol.3, Hong Kong: Manhattan Press, pp.104-105.

108. The result of schools' switching to mother-tongue education varies from school to school. The Hong Kong Taoist Association Ching Chung Secondary School was successful in introducing mother-tongue education in the lower forms, and the school is switching to teach more classes for its Form 4 students in the mother tongue (*South China Morning Post: Young Post*, 10 March, 1995, p.1). However, the Tuen Mun Hoh Fuk Tong College has abolished its four-year implementation of using Cantonese as the medium of instruction, and English has been resumed as the teaching instruction of the College (*Wah Kiu Yat Pao*, October 19, 1994). Cheung Hin-yau, Principal of the Tuen Mun Hoh Fuk Tong College, outlines two weaknesses of adopting Cantonese as the medium of instruction: (1) Cantonese can only be used orally and problems of using Cantonese will exist in written language; and (2) people generally assume that only pupils having lower academic achievement in English will go to schools which use Cantonese as the medium of teaching instruction (ibid).

109. The *Report of the Working Group on the Use of Chinese in the Civil Service* also lays a foundation for change in the language orientation of the Government. It is expected that a greater use of Chinese in the administration will certainly lead to the reduction in the use of English in the civil service. Lau C.K. (1995), "Language of the Future" in *South China Morning Post*, September 18. Chinese training courses have also been introduced to foreign officials working for the Hong Kong government. *Ming Pao*, April 13, 1995, p.A2; and *Ming Pao*, April 14, 1995, p.A3.

110. The ages of the respondents were: below 30 years old for 15.3%; 30-40 years old for 43.8%; 41-50 years old for 34.9%; and above 50 years of age old for 5.1%. The educational levels of the respondents were: uneducated for 3.8%; primary education for 16.6%; secondary

education for 65.7%; post-secondary education for 10.4% and post-graduated education for 2.4%. Moreover, above 70% of the respondents were born in Hong Kong. *Wen Wei Pao* August 29, 1994.

111. Sharma, Yojana (1995), "Church-run Schools Fear their Chinese Future" in *The Times Educational Supplement*, September 1, p.14; and Sharma, Yojana (1995), "The Schools with faith in the Future" in *South China Morning Post*, August 6.

112. The CTC was planned to be dismissed by the end of March 1994. In order to encourage schools to use the mother tongue as the teaching instruction, the government decided to continue the work of the CTC and to have 3 more new members to join the CTC on 29 July 1994, and amended the authority of the CTC. According to Szeto Wah, a legislator and the Chairperson of the CTC, the authority of the CTC has been extended under this amendment and the CTC will continue to keep in contact with the publishers and discuss of the matter of Chinese textbooks (*Ming Pao*, July 30, 1994, A8).

113. The *Arts Policy Review Report*, published in 1993, is a consultation paper to address the arts issues for the future development of the arts in Hong Kong.

114. See Recreation and Culture Branch, Government Secretariat (March 1993), *Arts Policy Review*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer, p.32; The Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts (1993), *The Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts Annual Report: June 1992-June 1993*, Hong Kong: The Council of the Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts, p.8; and Hong Kong Cultural Policy Study Group, Zuni Icosahedron (ed) (1994), *In Search of Cultural Policy '93*, published by Zuni Icosahedron in conjunction with Research project on "Culture, Media and the Public: The Cultural Formation of Identity in Hong Kong 1984-94", The Chinese University of Hong Kong, p.161.

115. Also see the content of the *1996 Hong Kong Advanced Level Examination Regulations & Syllabus* for music. As required in Paper 1 (Aural), the aim of the 1996 AL music examination encourages candidates to "develop an elementary knowledge" of both Western and Chinese "musical traditions" (p.472).

116. Unit 2 in Section B is "Western music techniques". Section C includes two units (Unit 5: Performance 1 & Unit 6: Composition); and Section D includes four units (Unit 7: Special Project, Unit 8: Extended Essay, Unit 9: Arrangement, and Unit 10: Performance II). For detailed information about the content of Sections A - D, see *1992 Music Syllabuses for Advanced Level*.

117. In February 1991, there were 100 Form 4 and 100 Form 5 doing the four-hour music courses on Saturday mornings. Their music teachers who come from government secondary schools received no extra pay for their teaching on Saturdays. However, their workload was supposed to be reduced in their correspondent schools. Information from Arlis Hiebert (1993), "Music Education/Learning Opportunities in Hong Kong" in *The Chinese University of Hong Kong Education Journal*, Vol.21, No.1, p.78.

118. Morris (1992) does not specifically refer to Hong Kong music education. Rather, he attributes these features to the overall Hong Kong education system.

119. Curriculum Development Committee (1987), *Syllabus for Junior Secondary Forms*, Hong Kong: Government Printer, pp.4-7; and also see *Syllabus for General Music (Forms IV-V)*, (1987: 7-13).

120. *Syllabus for General Music (Form IV-V)* (1987: 7-13).

ENDNOTES FOR PART THREE

1. *Ming Pao*, *Wah Kiu Yat Pao* and *Wen Wei Pao* on June 6, 1989.

2. *Ming Pao*, *Wen Wei Po Daily*, *Dai Kung Pao* on June 7, 1989.

3. However, the results of this activity were that secondary school students were concerned about news on people, victims of disasters and tragedy but students were not interested in news about politics. For example, the District Board Elections were at the bottom of the students' list in the Selection Top 10 News. *Sing Tao* Daily, February 13, 1995, p.B16; and *South China Morning Post*, March 3, 1995, p.1.

4. Regardless of winning the championship and defeating 29 competing schools in this contest, students of Sing Yin Secondary School admitted that their study of the Law was "just scratching the surface" (*South China Morning Post*, March 2, 1995).

5. *Education Regulations*, General Administration Circular No.31/91, Ref. L/M (4)111 to ED (RB) 58/81 Pt.3, 9 October 1991, Hong Kong: Education Department, Part XII, 98 (2); and Hong Kong Federation of Education Workers & Hong Kong Education Resources Centre (November 1993), *Xiānggǒng Jiàoyù Shǒucè* (Hong Kong Teachers Handbook), Hong Kong: The Commercial Press Ltd, p.45.

6. Various Christian organisations in Hong Kong have diverse political attitudes towards the issue of the 1989 June 4th Incident. The political activity of established religious groups took the form of the uncontroversial "We Love Hong Kong Campaign" organised in 1991 to encourage Hong Kong people to restore confidence for the future of Hong Kong. In 1991, the Christian Patriotic Democratic Movement (CPDM) arranged a series of talks on the questions, "How can Christians be patriotic?" The Rev. Kwok Nai-wang, head of the politically active Hong Kong Christian Institute and speaker at the talks, called for religious organisation to support political activities in Hong Kong. Kwok's emphasis on politics was countered by prominent Lutheran pastor Lee Chi-kong who warned that political involvement by the church could be illegal under the registration with the Hong Kong Government as a religious organisation. The Lutheran churches were generally averse to organise political participation. Mosher, Stacy (1991), "Churches Split over Political Action: Christian Schisms" in *Far Eastern Economic Review*, July 4, pp.16-17.

7. The song "Blood-stained Glory" (Xiěrǎn De Fēngbiàn) (see Appendix Seven) was composed by Mainland songwriter Sū Yuè and the Chinese lyrics were written by Chén Zhé in 1986. The story of the song "Blood-stained Glory" was about a Chinese soldier who was

going to leave his parents and fight in the Sino-Vietnam War. The lyrics were filled with the sad feelings of parting between life and death. The song "Blood-stained Glory" (Xiěrǎn De Fēngbiàn) was interpreted as a "witness of history" for the commitment of democracy on June 4 Incident in 1989. The song was also felt to represent the feelings of the Beijing students who were facing their deaths for democracy. Zhí, Huī (1989), "Blood-stained Glory" (Xiěrǎn De Fēngbiàn) in *Pray for China* (Shǒuwàng Zhōnghuà), No.91, July, p.24.

8. The lesson is for Form 1 to Form 7 students and the teaching materials are suitable for any subject, such as Bible, Civic Education, Chinese, History and Social Studies,etc. See Hong Kong Christian Institute (May 1990), *Reflections on June 4 Event: Moral Virtue - Insight and Reflection from Beijing Student Movement*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Christian Institute, pp.1-6. In 1991, the Hong Kong Christian Institute also produced four teaching/learning packages with the titles of "Different Dimensions of Democracy" (Mínzhǔ Miànmiàn Guān), "Political Party and Politics" (Zhèngdǎng Zhèngzhì), "What is Politics?" (Héwèi Zhèngzhì); and "Human Rights and You" (Rénquán Yǔ Nǐ). In 1994, the Hong Kong Christian Institute produced two teaching/learning packages on the relationship between China and Hong Kong. These packages are called "Patriotic Education" (Àiguó Jiàoyù); and "The Relationship between China and Hong Kong" (Zhōnggǒng Guānxì). Information from Hong Kong Education Department (1996) *Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools* (Draft), Hong Kong: Government Printer, pp.131-133.

9. Five political goals were highlighted in the programme of this vigil: (1) to release democratic activists; (2) to reverse the PRC's verdict on the 1989 Democratic Movement from counter-revolutionary activities to patriotic movement; (3) to hold those responsible for the massacre accountable; (4) to terminate one-party rule in China; and (5) to construct a democratic China. For the commemorative vigil of the fifth anniversary of the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident, there were 14,000 people reported on the nightnews of Television Broadcast Limited (TVB) by the Royal Hong Kong Police on June 4, 1994.

10. According to the HKASPDMC, there were 35,000 people to commemorate the sixth anniversary at Victoria Park on June 4, 1995. But the Police Public Relations Department said that there were only 16,000 attending the sixth anniversary at Victoria Park. *Ming Pao*, June 5, 1995, p.1.

11. The cultural crisis is not a new phenomenon in 1980s Hong Kong society. The cultural crisis first appeared in relation to the "identity crisis" which was significant in the student movements of the 1960s

and 1970s, in particular, led by the students of the Hong Kong University and the Hong Kong Chinese University. Choi identifies two main themes in the students' movement of the seventies; namely criticism and nationalism (1990:94). Leung (1993:163-164) also described one of the characteristics of student movements in Hong Kong as nationalism. Leung noted that student movements were under the influence of Maoist ideology and students showed their strong sense of reunification with Mainland China. Nationalism was showed in the Hong Kong student movements advocating anti-imperialism in 1966, pro-socialism in the early 1970s and anti-colonialism in the 1980s.

12. The term "senselessness" is given by the public who considered this culture as one making no sense. The writer uses the term "downgraded" culture because these students used foul language to express themselves. Chén Xī-zī, "The Chinese University of Hong Kong Creating Damage) "Zhōngdà Lànzǐ Gǎopòhuài" in *Next Magazine* (Yìzhōukān), 26th November 1993, pp.116-118. Local popular artists are promoted as idols by the media, including television, radio, newspapers, magazines and the music business. In particular, fan clubs of popular singers are used as a means for creating the image of idols by the music industry.

13. Hǔang, Chéng-róng (1991), "Investigation of Hong Kong Young People's 'Non-sensed' Culture" (Tàntǎo Xiānggǒng qīngshǎoniáo de "Wúlítóu" Wénhuà) in *Ming Pao Monthly Journal* (Míng Bào Yuè Kān), Vol.26, No.6, June, pp.79-83; and Choi, Po-king, "Popular Culture" in Wong, Richard Y.C. & Cheng, Joseph Y.S. (1990), *The Other Hong Kong Report:1990*, Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, p.537.

14. Hú, Wén-fá and Yè, Zhì-rén (1994), "Suicide, Crazy Loving Artists and Comic Books: Investigation of Hong Kong Young People's Value" (Zìshā Gēxíngchí Yǔ Màhuà Míkuáng: Xiānggǒng Qìngshǎoniànguōn Xīngtàn") in *Ming Pao Monthly Journal* (Míng Bào Yuè Kān), Vol.29, No.1, January, p.45; and So, Clement Y.K. & Chan, Joseph Man (October 1992), *Mass Media and Youth in Hong Kong: A Study of Media Use, Youth Archetype and Media Influence*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer, p.59.

15. The criteria for the young people in choosing their idols were that they should have "good conduct", "love and care", "beauty and handsome" and "success". Hú and Yè (1994: 43 & 45) demonstrate that the phenomenon of young people worshipping their idols has reached a stage of craziness. For instance, there were 10,000 teenagers at the mourning ceremony for Wong Ka-kui, a member of a Hong Kong popular band named "Beyond" on July 5, 1993.

16. For example, the fans of two very popular local Hong Kong singers, Lau Tak-wah and Leon Lai Ming, had conflicts over the issue of "Prize for the Most Welcomed Male Singer" in the ceremony presentation of "Golden Hits" at Hong Kong Hunghum Stadium on 15 January 1995. Lau Tak-wah was awarded the title of the most popular male singer and the fans of Leon Lai Ming left the Stadium to demonstrate their protest. Later, the fans of Lau and Lai were involved in fighting over the decision (*Sing Tao* Daily, January 17, 1995, p.A1).

17. Rita Tsang is a British born Chinese who is a musical performer, TV presenter and producer as well as a qualified pharmacist. She also approached MTV Asia when she had holiday in Hong Kong. Wong, Paul (Reporter) (1994), "Fame, Drugs and Rock and Roll" in *Siyu Chinese Times*, Vol.65, July, p.22.

18. Lau Ngai-man is the first person who got a Masters Degree in Chinese music in Hong Kong. Hé in *Ming Pao*, September 29, 1994, p.B6

19. Anthony Kemp, a music educator in Britain, was invited to give two public talks in Hong Kong: "The Role of Music in the Wider Curriculum" (in the Primary School Music Seminar) and "Music Education and Your Child". The Primary Schools' Music Seminar, jointly presented by the Music Department of the Hong Kong University and the School of Music of the Hong Kong Academy of Performing Arts, was held on 29 April, 1989. Chen in *Newsletter* of HKSME, August 1989, No.5, p.2.

20. This information was provided by Dr. Arlis Hiebert, Head of Department of Music and Fine Arts at the Hong Kong Baptist College. In August 1994, Dr. Hiebert kindly sent me photocopies of the outlines of the BA (Hons) in music degree.

21. The Hong Kong Jockey Club Music Fund was established in December 1979 with a donation of $10 million from the Jockey Club for the promotion and development of music, dance and other arts activities. For reference, see Hiebert (1993: 329).

22. Moreover, *Business for Art*, a non-profit making organisation, was established in 1990 by a group of prominent Hong Kong business people to help, encourage and promote local arts. This organisation also supports the development of projects and programmes of various cultural activities and promotes young artists to establish themselves in their careers. The organisation publishes the *Arts Patron Quarterly*, a bilingual magazine, to advertise business sponsorship and arts projects. *Arts Patron* is distributed locally and internationally to business, arts and media organisations, as well as individuals (*Hong Kong 1994: A Review of 1993*, p.346).

23. Emmons (1991: 51) states that the number of Hong Kong emigrants has increased since the Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984. Yeh (1990: 108-9) indicates that the mass emigration of professionals was further accentuated by the Tiananmen Square Incident in 1989. The number of emigrants increased from an average of 20,000 a year in the early 1980s to 30,000 in 1987, and amounted to 66,000 in 1992 (*Hong Kong 1994: A Review of 1993* p.412). Owing to the "reduced intake" and "recent economic downturn" of some destination countries, the number of emigrants dropped to about 54,000 in 1993 (ibid).

24. Also see Emmons, Charles F. (1991), *Hong Kong Prepares for 1997: Politics and Emigration in 1987*, Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong, p.51; and White, Paul, "Wooing Customers?" in *Education*, Vol.178, No.7, 1991, p.132.

25. The Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts (1993), *The Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts Annual Report June 1992-June 1993*, Hong Kong: The Council of the Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts, p.55.

26. **Figure 6.1** Number of students taking music subject at HKCEE and AL examinations

YEAR	HKCEE	AL
1986	187	30
1987	209	21
1988	217	22
1989	250	12
1990	205	20
1991	226	16

Information from Arlis Hiebert (1993), "Music Education/Learning Opportunities in Hong Kong" in *The Chinese University of Hong Kong Education Journal*, Vol.21, No.1, p.78.

27. The numbers of candidates of the examinations were drawn from the *Hong Kong Annual Report 1993* (1992), p.119 and the figures of Hong Kong music students taking the examinations were from Hong Kong Federation of Education Workers (1993) p.395 & p.397.

28. Music candidates can apply for exemption from the practical test of the HKCEE. The conditions are described as followed:

"Candidates with the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music

(or equivalent e.g. Trinity College of Music, the Guildhall School of Music and Drama) qualifications in any instrument or voice, or practical musicianship, at Grade 4 or above may claim exemption from this test. Candidates with qualifications of the Royal Conservatory of Music of Toronto may claim exemption from Grade 5 or above....."

Information from *1996 HKCEE Regulation and Syllabus*, pp.303-304.

Figure 6.2 Number of students taking the Practical Test (Paper 1) of the music examination of the 1994 HKCEE

Attendance:

	Piano	Voice	Other Western Instrument	Chinese Instrument	Total
Number Entered	13	1	6	3	23
Number Present	9	1	5	3	18

Eighteen candidates attended the Practical Test but there were five absentees. Information from *1994 HKCEE Annual Report*, Hong Kong: Government Printer, p.403.

29. The music examination of the 1994 HKCEE consisted of five papers: Paper 1 (practical test); Paper 2 (basic musical knowledge); Paper 3 (Chinese music); Paper 4 (Western music: history and set works); and Paper 5 (Western music: techniques). *1994 HKCEE Annual Report*, Hong Kong: Government Printer, pp.403-410.

30. **Table 6.1** The result of Hong Kong candidates in the 1994 Hong Kong Advanced Level Examination (AL) and the Hong Kong Advanced Supplementary Level (ASL)

Total number of candidates: 26088	**Above Grade E**:

School candidates: AL subjects (except the use of English) ASL (non-language subjects) AL subjects (Language subjects)	 70.9% 69.5% 83.5%
Private candidates: AL subjects (except the use of English) ASL (non-language subjects) AL subjects (Language subjects)	 60.0% 36.9% 73.0%
The subjects having the highest passing percentage: Art and Design (AL) French (A) Art and Design (ASL)	 100% 100% 95.5%
The subjects having the lowest passing percentage: Design and Technology (ASL) Engineering Science (AL) Sociology (AL)	 41.2% 40.7% 51.5%
The subjects having the highest Grade A percentage: Computer (AL) English Literature (ASL) Government and Public Affairs (AS)	 9.7% 17.8% 10.9%
The subjects having the lowest Grade A percentage: Art and Design (AL) Art and Design (AS) French (AL) Music (AL)	 0 0 0 0

Information from *Sing Tao* Daily, July 8, 1994 in Chinese text, translated by the writer of the thesis.

31. **Figure 6.3** Numbers of people taking the examinations of RSM

PIANO	**OTHER INSTRUMENTS**

Grade 6 - 1989	2,430	163
Grade 6 - 1990	2,590	210
Grade 7 - 1989	2,327	88
Grade 7 - 1990	2,556	123
Grade 8 - 1989	2,585	210
Grade 8 - 1990	2,652	260
LRSM - 1989	59 (Breakdown unknown)	
LRSM - 1990	76 (Breakdown unknown)	

Information from Arlis Hiebert (1993), "Music Education/Learning Opportunities in Hong Kong" in *The Chinese University of Hong Kong Education Journal*, Vol.21, No.1, p.80.

32. For the entry requirement of the universities for music, students should have matriculation at least (i.e. students have two subjects passed in A-level Examination), as well as qualification a through public examination such as those of the Associated Board of the Royal School of Music, Trinity College of Music, the Guildhall School of Music and Drama, or even the Royal Conservatory of Music of Toronto. For the entry requirement of the Academy of Performing Arts, it is similar to the universities for undergraduate courses. Moreover, the Academy for the Performing Arts and Hong Kong Baptist College provide a two year programme for Form 5 graduates in preparation for the admission to degree courses in music.

33. On completion of primary education, students are allocated free junior secondary places in government, government-aided and private secondary schools. The allocation system, known as the Secondary School Places Allocation System, is based on internal school assessment, scaled by a centrally administered Academic Aptitude Test, parental choice and the division of the territory into 19 school nets. *Hong Kong: the Facts (Education)* (September 1993), Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printers.

34. There were two types of courses offered by colleges of education: two-year and three-year. For the three-year course in colleges of education, "applicants should have taken at least six different subjects in one sitting in the Hong Kong Certificate of Education

Examination (HKCEE), including English Language and Chinese Language, achieving at least Grade C in two subjects, Grade D in one subject and Grade E in the others." (*"Teacher Education"* ED 1/4466/69/09/89 in Hiebert 1993: 79). In addition, an applicant who attempted to take music as an elective must attain Grade E on the H.K.C.E.E. in Music and perform a satisfactory audition conducted by the Colleges of Education Joint Selection Board (*Sir Robert Black College of Education - "Handbook of General Information for Students - Full-Time Three-Year Course*, 1988-1991, p.2 in Hiebert 1993: 79). For the two year-course, applicants had to attain at least two subjects passed in the Advanced level as the minimum admission requirements to the Colleges of education.

35. The Northcote College of Education, Grantham College of Education, Sir Robert Black College of Education and the Hong Kong Technical Teachers' College were run by the government. They offered full-time two-year courses in English and full-time three-year courses in English and Chinese in Northcote, Grantham and Sir Robert Black. The Hong Kong Technical Teachers' College trained technical teachers for secondary schools, prevocational schools and technical institutes. The four colleges of teacher education ran refresher training courses for serving primary and secondary school teachers. *Hong Kong: The Fact (Education)* (1993), Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer.

36. Teachers who do not hold any recognised post-secondary qualifications are considered as "permitted" rather than "qualified" teachers.

37. An institutional review of the APA was conducted by the Hong Kong Council for Academic Accreditation (HKCAA). The HKCAA has recommended to Government that the Academy was qualified to award degrees. With the successful outcome of course validation, the Academy has been able to award Bachelor of Fine Arts degrees (BFA) from September 1992. Information from *Performing Arts in Hong Kong*, 1992,p.66.

38. Curriculum Development Committee (1983), *Syllabus for Music (Forms I-III)*, Hong Kong Government Printer, pp.20-21.

39. The overall aim is "to provide a balanced and well-defined programme of creative, performing and listening activities" and the additional activities are suggested for the "guidance of teachers who wish to provide their pupils with a wider range of musical experience through creating and performing activities" respectively. *Syllabus for General Music (Forms I - III)*, 1983, p.3 & p.14.

40. Eve Ngan Kwai-ling was honoured with the 1992 "Lion and Globe Most Outstanding Award" and she came first in the Chinese solo-singing (under 18) and female vocal duet (under 19) in finals in the 1994 Schools Music Festival. She participated in the soprano-alto quickstudy group and soprano-alto-tenor-bass quickstudy group and won her first runner-up titles together with her choir mates. Information from Benson Chao (1995), "Tears and Joy of a Musician" in *South China Morning Post:Young Post*, January 17, p.10.

41. The Music Office runs the "Music for the Millions" programme every year. On the average, 300 concerts are orchestrated in primary and secondary schools, factories and community institutions to promote music. *Arts Policy Review Report* (1993), p.29.

42. In this research, the investigation focused on Hong Kong secondary grammar schools, not on technical and/or prevocational secondary schools. As mentioned in Chapter One before, there are three main types of secondary schools in Hong Kong: grammar, technical and prevocational. In 1994, there were 410 grammar schools; 20 technical schools; and 25 prevocational schools. For detailed information about grammar, technical and prevocational secondary schools, refer to Endnote 4 in Part One (p.367).

43. Owing to the bands of Hong Kong secondary schools being confidential, the systematic sampling cannot be proportionally selected according to the categories of schools (Band I - Band V). Comparatively, Band I schools are considered as the best performers in terms of academic achievement; whilst Band V schools are conceived as having the worst performance in academic achievement among secondary schools in Hong Kong. Thus the question for the bands of schools is included in the survey.

44. As discussed earlier in Chapter Five, the colleges of education and the Institute of Language in Education (ILE) were run by the Education Department. The 1992 fifth report of the Education Commission recommended that the four colleges of education and ILE were merged to form the Hong Kong Institute of Education (HKIE), a public funded and autonomous higher institute. The disestablishment of the colleges of education from the Government is endorsed by upgrading training standards, qualification and conditions in 1994.

45. The general music syllabuses of Hong Kong secondary schools include the junior forms: Forms 1-3 (1983), the senior forms: Forms 4-5 (1987) and the A-level forms: Forms 6-7 (1992).

46. According to the *Music Syllabus for Forms I-III*, the introduction of Chinese musical instruments is only one of the core of Chinese music studies. The content of Chinese music includes Chinese folk songs,

Chinese operas and operatic songs, instrumental music as well as related theoretical and historical aspects of Chinese music. *Music Syllabus for Forms I-III* (1983), pp.6-7.

47. There is no suggested topic on Hong Kong contemporary music included in the *1983 Music Syllabus (Forms 1-3)*. Nevertheless, the *1987 Music Syllabus for General Music (Forms 4-5)* outlines the teaching of local contemporary work as one of the suggested topics in listening activity. Moreover, examination questions were also set on Hong Kong contemporary music and/or Hong Kong composers for public examinations but they were not compulsory for candidates to answer. For example, questions on Hong Kong composers were devised as one of the sections of Paper 6 (Chinese music) in the *1990 Hong Kong Advanced Level Examination Regulations & Syllabuses* (p.146). For the *1993-94 Hong Kong Advanced Level Examination Regulations & Syllabuses* (p.473), questions were also set on modern works by Chinese composers (including Hong Kong composers) in Paper 4 of Chinese music. For the inclusion of Hong Kong contemporary music in current public music examinations, also refer to the *1996 Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination Regulations and Syllabus*, p.306; and the *1996 Advanced Level Examination Regulations & Syllabuses*, p.477.

48. See Kelly, Gail P. & Altback, Philip G. (1978), "Introduction" in Kelly, Gail P. & Altback, Philip G. (eds.) *Education and Colonialism*, New York: Longman, pp.1-49; Kelly, Gail P., "Colonialism, Indigenous Society, and School Practice: French West Africa and Indo China, 1918-1938," in Altback, Philip G. & Kelly Gail. P. (eds), *Education and the Colonial Experience*, New Brunwick: Transaction Books, pp.9-32; and Clignet, Remi (1971), "Damned if You Do, Dammed if You Don't : The Dilemma of Colonizer-colonised" in *Comparative Education Review*, October, pp.296-312.

49. In September 1994, the old Teachers' Certificates were renamed Certificates in Education.

50. Presently, the Institute of Language in Education (now under the auspices of the Hong Kong Institute of Education) and the Advisory Inspectorate of the Education Department organises refresher courses to help teachers adapt to the use of Chinese as the medium of teaching, but the courses have not been popular (*South China Morning Post*, April 6, 1994). Compared with 125 teachers who have joined the in-service English course, only 30 have registered for the Institute of Language in Education's new in-service Chinese Language education course during term-time (*South China Morning Post*, August 1, 1994). This reflects the fact that the recommendation of using Chinese as the medium of teaching instruction is not so greatly welcomed in most schools.

51. According to the "Education Bulletin" issued by the Education Department in 1989, 133 schools, or 27 percent, offered Mandarin in the formal curriculum and a further 207 schools, or 42 percent, offered Mandarin as an extra-curricular activity in secondary schools (Pierson 1992:189). As discussed in Chapter Five about the language streaming policy, Hong Kong secondary schools had to choose either Chinese or English as the major teaching medium in the academic year 1994-1995. According to the survey conducted by the Education Department, there would be 62 secondary schools to adopt Chinese as the medium of instruction in the academic year of 1995-1996. However, 392 secondary schools (about 70%) are expected to use Chinese as their teaching medium by 1998. Kowk in *South China Morning Post*, July 13, 1994; Lee in *South China Morning Post*, September 6, 1994; and *Dai Kung Pao*, March 21, 1995.

52. In the field of the civil service in Hong Kong, Fanny Wong recognises that every civil servant may be expected to be able to sing the Chinese national anthem after 1997. Fanny Wong (1995), "It's Time To Talk Beijing's Languages" in *South China Morning Post*, March 1.

ENDNOTES FOR PART FOUR

1. The *1983 Music Syllabus for Junior Secondary School* is still the current syllabus for Hong Kong secondary schools.

2. The opinion of these 47% respondents was their personal preference on teaching Chinese democratic popular songs. Their opinions did not represent those of their school authorities. Moreover, a few of these 47% respondents did not really understand the question of Chinese democratic popular songs. See the analysis of Chinese democratic popular songs in Chapter Seven, p.314.

3. However, the 1993 and 1995 education regulations did not explicitly state that political and partly political activities were forbidden in schools (the writer of the thesis suspects that these kinds of political and partly political activities include the introduction of political songs in schools). See Chapter Five, pp.197-200; and Chapter Six, pp.234-235.

4. As the writer mentioned in Chapter One, the characteristics and definition of democratic and undemocratic countries are arguable and varies between Western and Eastern scholars and politicians. The concepts of democracy and non-democracy are complex and fluid. When I use the words "democratic" and "undemocratic", the writer does not suggest that the two concepts are wholly apparent or opposed. Even some Western scholars argue that Western European countries are pseudo-democratic countries. In this thesis, democratic countries are assumed to have open political institutions; whilst the undemocratic countries maintain one-party domination and freedoms enjoyed by people are limited. For the semi-democratic countries, the political scene of one-party domination persists but people can enjoy their certain freedoms.

5. See *Syllabus for Junior Secondary School (Forms 1-3)* (1983), pp.15-16.; and *Syllabus for General Music (Forms 4-5)* (1987), pp.11-12.

6. According to Lee (1992:146), it is difficult to anticipate the development of political/democratic popular songs in Hong Kong in the 1990s and beyond 1997. Up to this stage of my writing, the production of Hong Kong democratic songs has apparently dropped since the beginning of the 1990s. However, more Mandarin popular songs have been promoted in Hong Kong during the 1990s. In September 1994, there were two concerts of Mandarin popular songs, named "Mandarin Typed Animals' Concert" (Guóyǔlèi Dòngwù Yǎnchànghùi), held in the Hong Kong Queen Elizabeth Stadium. On July 4, 1995, the Mandarin Typed Animals' Concert was also held in the Stadium and was intended to accommodate a bigger audience (*Ming Pao*, May 23, 1995, p.b1). In Mainland China, more Mandarin songs were written based on the theme of the Hong Kong 1997 issue. For example, the Beijing popular singer, Ài Jìng had a song named "My 1997" which was a hit song in Mainland China (*Ming Pao*, Editorial, April 26, 1995, p.A2).

7. Amongst those twenty-seven who taught Chinese democratic popular songs, a few of them misinterpretated about this musical style. See the analysis of the "Misinterpretation of the survey about Chinese democratic popular songs" in Chapter Seven, p.314.

8. As discussed in Chapter Four, the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movement (HKASPDM) in China produced a music video of the "China Democracy Concert" which took place in Hong Kong Happy Valley on May 27, 1989. The music video was edited to two-hours long and Hóu Dé-jiàn sang his song "The Descendants of the Dragon" (Lóng De Chuán-rén) in the concert. This video is sold to the public.

9. In the thesis, Japan is not included in the categories of undemocratic or semi-democratic countries. In Japan, the existing form of democracy is due to its defeat by the United States in WWII. After 1945 the United States supervised a political reconstruction of Japan which brought forth a democratic state within the framework of its indigenous cultural and economic system. For further details about the definitions of semi-democratic countries, see Diamond, Larry, Linz, Juan J. & Lipset, Seymour Martin (1990), "Introduction", in Larry Diamond, Seymour Martin Lipset, and Juan Linz (eds.), *Politics in Developing Countries: Comparing experiences with Democracy* (Boulder, Co: Lynne Rienner), p.8.

10. According to Rodan (1993: 77), the successive PAP administrations have practiced authority with the implementation of restrictive rules and regulations. The authoritarian règime of Singapore has taken a lot of measures to suppress the political activities carried on by the opposition politicians. These measures include the detaining or imprisoning of opponents. Rodan, Garry (1993), "Preserving the One-party State in Contemporary Singapore" in Kevin Hewison, Richard Robison and Garry Rodan (eds.) *Southeast Asia in the 1990s: Authoritarianism, Democracy & Capitalism*, New South Wales: Allen & Unwin, pp. 77-108; and Chua, Beng Huat, "Beyond Formal Structures: Democratisation" in *Asian Studies Review*, 1993, Vol.17, No.1, pp.99-106.

11. *Far Eastern Economic Review*, February 11, 1993, p.20; and Hassal, Graham & Cooney, Sean, "Democracy and Constitutional Change in Asia" in *Asian Studies Review*, July 1993, Vol.17, No.1, pp.9-10.

12. McKay, John (1993), "Democratisation and the Derive to Economic Maturity in South Korea" in *Asian Studies Review*, Vol.17, No.1, pp.68-74; and Kim, Sang Joon (1994), "Characteristic Features of Korean Democratisation" in *Asian Perspective*, Vol.18, No.2, Fall-Winter, p.189.

13. Also see Suk, Chin H. (1994), "Democracy in South Korea: Foreign Views" in *Asian Thought & Society - An International Review*, Vol.19, 55, Jan-April, pp.59-61 (Problems and prospects); and Kim, Sang Joon, "Characteristic Features of Korean Democratisation" in *Asian Perspective*, Vol.18, No.2, Fall-Winter 1994, pp.191-195 (The problems and prospects of democratic consolidation).

14. The World Bank (1993) *Sustaining Rapid Development in East Asia and the Pacific*, Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, p.4.

15. For example, the Confucian notion of statecraft is prominent in the political culture of Korean society and Confucian teachings are still manifested in the thoughts and behaviour of the Koreans. Kim, Kyong-dong (1991), "Sociocultural Developments in the Republic of Korea" in Thomas W. Robinson (ed.) *Democracy and Development in East Asia: Taiwan, South Korea, and the Philippines*, Washington, D.C.: The AEI Press, p.139.

16. India, Burma, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Malaysia shared the British colonial experience. Indonesia encountered the colonial heritage of the Dutch. Cambodia and Laos were under the French colonial power. In contemporary South and Southeast Asia, only three countries did not experience colonial rule. Two of these were Nepal and Afghanistan which were considered as relatively inaccessible. The other was Thailand which did not undergo the colonial rule. Kearney, Robert N. (1975), "South and Southeast Asia: A Regional Survey" in Kearney, Robert N. (ed.) *Politics and Modernisation in South and Southeast Asia*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, pp.7-10; and SarDesai, D. R. (1994) *Southeast Asia, Past & Present*, Third Edition, San Franciso: Westview Press, pp.81-129.

17. For further information about the development strategies of South Korea and Taiwan under the influence of Japan and the United States of America, see Casse, Thorkil & Lauridsen, Laurids S. (1989), "South Korea and Taiwan: Prospects for Democracy" in *Southeast Asia Between Autocracy and Democracy*, Denmark: Aarhus University Press, pp.199-201.

18. As noted by Wong (1991), the decisions of politicians in Singapore comprise only one of five agents in the implementation of curricular development. There is a government Parliamentary Committee on Education to collect feedback from different sources about educational issues and raise these issues with the ministers. The other four are the Ministry of Education (MOE), the Curriculum Development Institute of Singapore (CDIS), the teacher training institutes, the schools and teachers. Wong, Khoon Yoong (1991), "Curriculum Development in Singapore" in C. Marsh and P. Morris (eds.), *Curriculum Development in East Asia*, London: The Falmer Press, pp.133-135.

19. In Chapter Six, tensions within Hong Kong music education have been discussed from socio-political, cultural and economic perspectives. In this section, the writer of the thesis highlights the challenges which Hong Kong music education is refusing to face during the transitional period.

20. Jones (1994) has demonstrated Chinese popular music as propaganda in China, starting from the 1930s to the late 1980s. Jones, Andrew F. (1994), "The Politics of Popular Music in Post-Tiananmen China," in Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom & Elizabeth J. Perry (eds.) *Popular Protest & Political Culture in Modern China*, 2nd edition, Colorado: Westview Press, Inc., pp.148-149.

21. Singing patriotic songs is regarded as one of the three most important ways (the other two are reading patriotic books and watching patriotic films) to introduce patriotic education in the PRC. *Political Education* (Zhèngzhì Jiàoyù), Vol.169, No.10, October 25, 1995, p.44. Presently, the induction of "patriotism" has been centralised throughout all secondary and primary schools in the PRC. Forty-nine patriotic songs are introduced to secondary pupils; forty-four for primary pupils; and there are seven compulsory songs for both secondary and primary pupils. The content of these patriotic songs includes the cultivation of loving our own nation, our country, teachers, parents and the expectation for the good life,etc. *People's Education* (Rémín Jiàoyù), Vol.366, No.3, 1995, p.4 & 35. Recently, Wēng Xīn-qiǎo, the Director of Educational Technology of the New China News Agency (NCNA) in Hong Kong Branch, states that patriotic education, including the education of loving China and loving Hong Kong, should be emphasised in the post-1997 Hong Kong education system (*Ming Pao*, January 24, 1996, p.A8).

22. Words and music of the "Song for 1997" were written by Èr Cái. The English translation was done by Ho Wai-chung.

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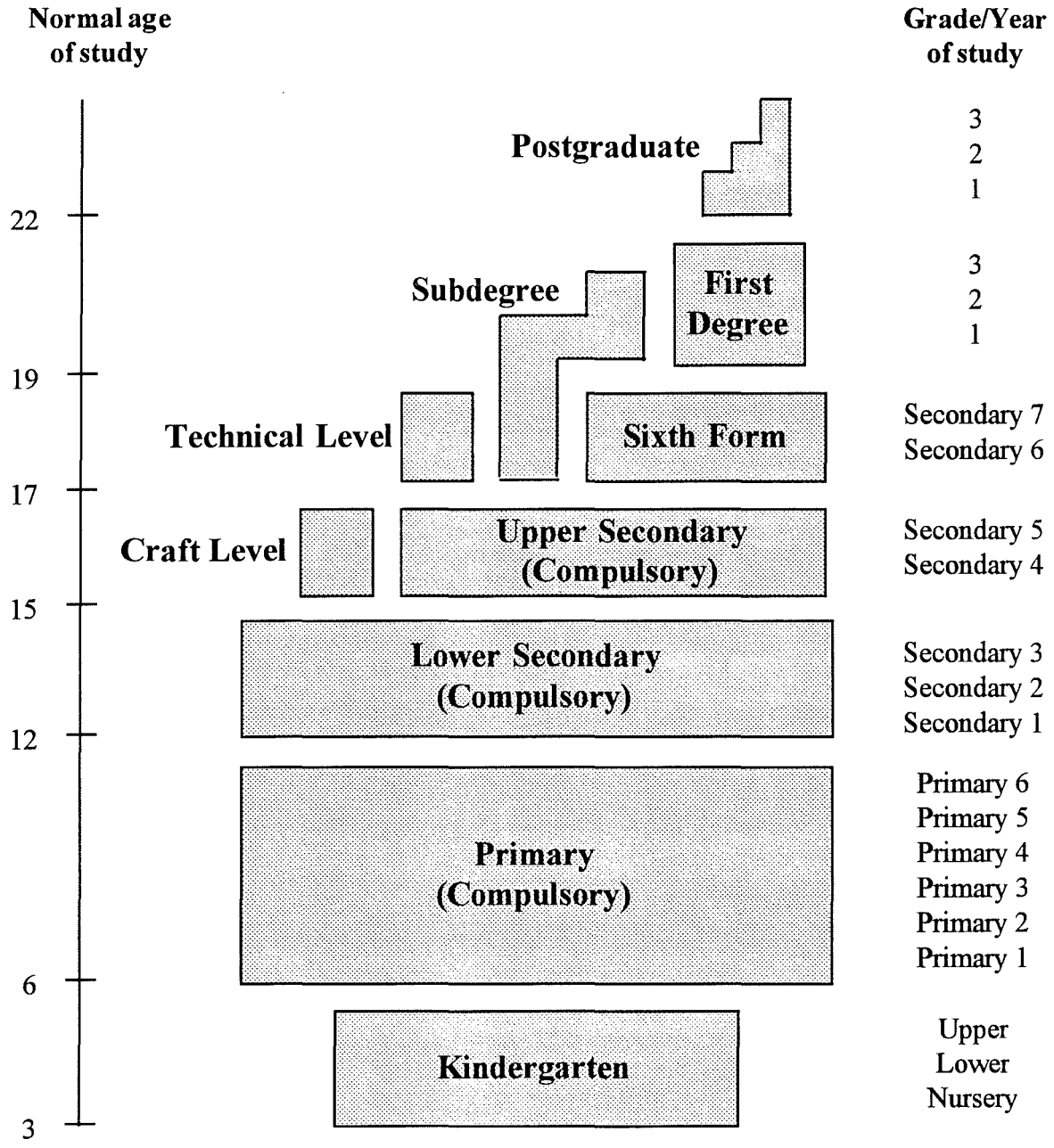
APPENDIX ONE

EDUCATION SYSTEM OF HONG KONG



Note:
Only main routes of education are illustrated above. Durations of study shown refer to full-time programmes. Study within a level may take longer than indicated.

Craft level education normally comprises a one-year full-time programme followed by a two-year part-time programme, leading to full craft qualification. This is taken to be equivalent to two years of full-time study.

Source: Education & Manpower Branch Government Secretariat (1994), *A Guide to Education and Training in Hong Kong*, p. 2.

APPENDIX TWO

The National Anthem of the PRC, "March of the Volunteers"

Rise up! Those who do not want to be enslaved!

Let our flesh and blood fortify our new Great Wall.

The people of China have approached their most critical moment.

The masses have passed to pour out their roar.

Rise up! Rise up! Rise up!

In one spirit.

We march on in the midst of our enemies' bombings.

The lyrics of the national anthem of the People's Republic of China, "March of the Volunteers", were written by Tian Han, translated by Patricia Snipe. Taken from Zhōng, Xiǎo-chūn (ed.) (1992), *Zhōngguó Huáijiǔ Jīnqūxuǎn: Zhōnghuà Sòng* (Selection of Chinese Old Golden Hits Songs: Chinese Glory), Hong Kong: Huàshà Shūláng, pp.3-4.

APPENDIX THREE

"Fighting for Democracy and Freedom"

Chinese students, be brave to approach, fight for democracy,
Fighting for freedom, we all love [our] country and [our] people;
Merging for one heart,
Chinese students, to the frontier of the people,
Fighting for democratic freedom, be brave to approach.

Chinese people, be brave to approach, fight for democracy,
We are all good citizens;
Merging for one heart,
Chinese people, thousands people joining for one heart,
Fighting for democratic freedom, to be forever free people.

Chinese army, do not enter Beijing,
Do not hit students, do not hit old people,
The army loves country and people;
Merging for one heart,
Chinese army, do not enter Beijing,
Protect the land of your motherland, do not fight against your own people.

The lyrics of "Fighting for Democracy and Freedom" were written by Xú Bīn-xían and translated by Ho Wai-chung. Taken from *Wah Kiu Yat Pao*, May 27, 1989.

APPENDIX FOUR

"1989 Prelude"

Why is the sky so dark?
The stars are not shining, maybe it'll soon be dawn.
Thousands of people awaiting the rise of the brilliant sun,
Its beams to enlighten China.
The whole sky is gloomy, from the bottom of my chilly heart rosy clouds arise;
The furious, fearful cries of the democracy movement rise from four corners in chorus,
The will of the people becomes a new commandment, unity brings new strength
To usher my country, my homeland into a new ear.

"1989"

How heavy, my heart.
Bitterness covers the great earth.
Hope is overshadowed.
People's expectation has become naught.
How bitter, this China.
Our hope for democracy has neither been abandoned nor forgotten.
Our movement hasn't seen its end. Where there's will, there's a way.
The human will has not eclipsed. The people's determination will become strong.
Our hearts forever united. our hands forever joined.

Lyrics from Lee, Joanna Ching-yun (1992), "All for Freedom: The Rise of Patriotic/Pro-Democratic Popular Music in Hong Kong in Response to the Chinese Student Movement" in Reebee Garofalo (ed.) *Rocking the Boat: Mass Music & Mass Movements*, Boston: South End Press, p.138.

APPENDIX FIVE

"China"

The Student Movement of China is filled with much concern;
Persevering struggles are hidden in the hearts of the Chinese people.
Falling tears and boiling blood are surging simultaneously.
This touching feeling has never appeared until recently.

The China road ahead is yet long and winding;
The Chinese people are moving towards this direction.
When will our mother country become strong and thriving, making our faces filled with a blaze of glory?

We are always aware that the sufferings that our mother country experienced have made us strong and tough.
We are holding onto our belief that this change will give our country more hope.

Yet this little "ups and downs" will never make us dejected.
freedom and patriotism appear as a beam of light in our hearts.

A strong and thriving China is the ideal in our hearts.

China China China -
China is our home.

China China China -
China is our hearts.

The lyrics of "China", translated by Patricia Snipe. Taken from *Ming Pao*, June 16, 1989.

APPENDIX SIX

"Ten Firefighter Teenagers"

On a certain midnight, fire alarms resound all over,
The volunteer firefighters in town.
All gathered by the bridge.
Of the ten determined firefighter boys,
One felt he lacked training.
Since it looked rather dangerous, he just registered and left
.....

Of the ten determined firefighter boys,
At this juncture only seven remained.
They gathered by the bridge,
Only to argue about the way to fight the fire.
Three of them were cross and left,
swearing never to see the others again.
There still remained four reliable ones.
But one is all talk with not much action.
Earnest in his theories, but he won't tackle the real smoke and fire.
The three who were left behind
Could not stop blazing fire.
In an instant they were buried under this great catastrophe
.....

10 minus 1 is 9,
9 minus 1 is 8
8 minus 1 is 7,
7 minus 1 is 6,
6 minus 1 is 5 .....[fades]

Taken from Lee, Joanna Ching-yun (1992), "All for Freedom: The Rise of Patriotic/Pro-Democratic Popular Music in Hong Kong in Response to the Chinese Student Movement" in Reebee Garofalo (ed.) *Rocking the Boat: Mass Music & Mass Movements*, Boston: South End Press, pp.140-141.

APPENDIX SEVEN

"Blood-stained Glory"

Perhaps I'll not come back again after departure?
Do you realize that?
Do you understand that?
Perhaps when I fall down, I'll never stand up again.
Are you still having such an expectation?
If it is like this, you don't have to feel sad.
In the flag of our republic, there are traces of our blood dyed gallantry.... (repeat)

Perhaps my eyes cannot be opened anymore.
Do you understand the feeling underneath my taciturnity?
Perhaps I'll sleep forever and never wake up.
Do you believe that metamorphose into a range of mountains.
If it is like this, you don't have to feel sad on the land of our republic.
You can feel our love and blood dyed gallantry.

The lyrics of the song "Blood-stained Glory", translated by Patricia Snipe. Taken from Zhí, Huī (1989), "Xiěrǎn De Fēngbiàn" (Blood-stained Glory) in *Pray for China* (Shǒuwàng Zhōnghuà), No.91, July, p.24.

APPENDIX EIGHT

SURVEY OF TEACHERS' OPINIONS ABOUT MUSIC EDUCATION IN HONG KONG SECONDARY SCHOOLS

I am very aware of the enormous pressures under which music teachers work, and I shall therefore be sincerely grateful for any help you can give me. The survey consists of two parts: 1) basic data concerning you and your school; and 2) your opinions on music education in your school.

The questionnaire can be answered in a quick way by mainly ticking boxes; or, if you are willing, it provides spaces for your further opinions. These will be particularly valuable to me. If you find some of the questions inappropriately worded, please do not hesitate to alter or add to them. The identity of all schools and individuals involved in the research is strictly confidential.

* * *

Date: _____/_____/ 199____
(Day Month Year)

Unless stated otherwise, please use a "✓" to indicate your choice in the boxes provided.

PART I: BASIC DATA

1. Your name: _____

   Sex: ☐ Male ☐ Female

2. The name, address, type and banding of your school:

   Name:
   Address:

   Type of school:

   ☐ Government school ☐ Grant school
   ☐ Government-Aided school ☐ Private school

   Banding of school in the academic year of 1994-1995:

   Band 1: 10-20% ☐ 21-40% ☐ 41-60% ☐ 61-80% ☐ 81%-100% ☐
   Band 2: 10-20% ☐ 21-40% ☐ 41-60% ☐ 61-80% ☐ 81%-100% ☐
   Band 3: 10-20% ☐ 21-40% ☐ 41-60% ☐ 61-80% ☐ 81%-100% ☐
   Band 4: 10-20% ☐ 21-40% ☐ 41-60% ☐ 61-80% ☐ 81%-100% ☐
   Band 5: 10-20% ☐ 21-40% ☐ 41-60% ☐ 61-80% ☐ 81%-100% ☐

3. Your position in the music panel:

   ☐ Chairperson ☐ Panel member

   Please give the number(s) of full-time and/or part-time music staff (including yourself) of your school in the space provided below.

   Total number of **Full-time** music teaching staff: _____

   Total number of **Part-time** music teaching staff (e.g. instrumental tutors): _____

4. Your teaching qualification **recognized** by the Hong Kong Government:

☐ Degree holder ☐ Certificate holder

☐ Other (please specify):

Does your qualification include music education?

☐ Yes ☐ No

5. How many years have you taught music in a school setting?

Full-time _____ year(s) and/or Part-time _____ year(s)

How many music lessons do you teach in this academic year?

_____ lessons in a six-day cycle, or _____ lessons in a week

Which form(s) do you teach music in this academic year (please circle)?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

6. Please list your main inner and inter-school music activities during the academic year 1994-1995. Give the type of activity (e.g. the annual Hong Kong Schools Music Festival etc.), the type of group (e.g. orchestra, choir, brass band etc), and the name of the music performed.

Activity	**Group**	**Music Performed**

PART II: MUSIC EDUCATION IN YOUR SCHOOL

The questions in this part are broadly phrased so as to seek your personal opinions, views and ideas. If possible, please tick a box and write a brief description of your opinion; but if not possible, please just tick a box, which will still be a great help to me.

7. Do you teach Western "classical" music in your school?

☐ YES ☐ NO

Please give your reasons:

8. Do you teach Chinese "classical" music in your school?

☐ YES ☐ NO

Please give your reasons:

9. Do you teach in your school "serious" music written by Hong Kong composers?

☐ YES ☐ NO

Please give your reasons:

10. Do you teach Western "folk" music in your school?

☐ YES ☐ NO

Please give your reasons:

11. Do you teach Chinese "folk" music in your school?

☐ YES ☐ NO

Please give your reasons:

12. Do you teach Western "popular" music in your school?

☐ YES ☐ NO

Please give your reasons:

13. Do you teach Chinese "popular" music from Mainland China in your school?

☐ YES ☐ NO

Please give your reasons:

14. Do you teach local Hong Kong "popular" music in your school?

☐ YES ☐ NO

Please give your reasons:

15. Do you teach any music from around the world (excluding Mainland China and Western Europe as mentioned in previous questions)?

☐ YES ☐ NO

Whether **"YES"** or **"NO"**, please give your reasons:

If **"YES"**, please also specify the country name(s) and the kind of music:

Country name Kind of music (e.g.folk, popular)

16. Do you use creative teaching techniques e.g. composition, improvisation, etc. in your teaching?

☐ YES ☐ NO

Whether **"YES"** or **"NO"**, please give your reasons:

If **"YES"**, please also specify the type(s) of your creative teaching techniques:

17. Do/Did you have any training (including self-studies) for teaching **POPULAR MUSIC**?

☐ YES ☐ NO

If **"NO"**, please go to Question 18.

If **"YES"**, you are/were trained

☐ outside Hong Kong. (Please go directly to Question 18.)

☐ in Hong Kong.

If you have/had such **training in Hong Kong**, please tick any of the following means through which you get your training of teaching popular music. (You can have more than one choice.)

☐ Attending courses from the College of Education (non-degree granting institutes)

☐ Attending courses from the University

☐ Attending seminars or courses run by the Education Department

☐ Taking lessons offered by private tutors

☐ Taking lessons offered by other social institutions

☐ Self-studies

☐ Others (please specify):

18. Do you think that the promotion of Chinese democratic popular songs with lyrics embedded with messages promoting the concepts of political pluralism and/or advocation of political freedom should be a part of civic education in your teaching?

☐ YES ☐ NO

Please give your reasons:

19. Please rank the degree of emphasis, as you perceive, of the following music activities in your music lessons (**excluding classes taking examinations held by the Hong Kong Examination Authority**). If you stress any of the following, please rank amongst your emphasized items and put a number to indicate the degree of emphasis (with number 1 representing the most emphasized item, 2 second to 1, and so on). If you do not stress any of the following, please leave the box(es) blank and do not rank it (them).

☐ History
☐ Analysis (Aural and/or written)
☐ Notation
☐ Singing
☐ Playing
☐ Listening
☐ Composing
☐ Others (please specify):

20. Do you think that pupils are responsive and interested in your music lessons?

☐ YES ☐ NO

Please give your reasons:

21. In your experience, which activity do pupils enjoy most in your music lessons?

22. In your opinion what are the most important and beneficial aspects of music education?

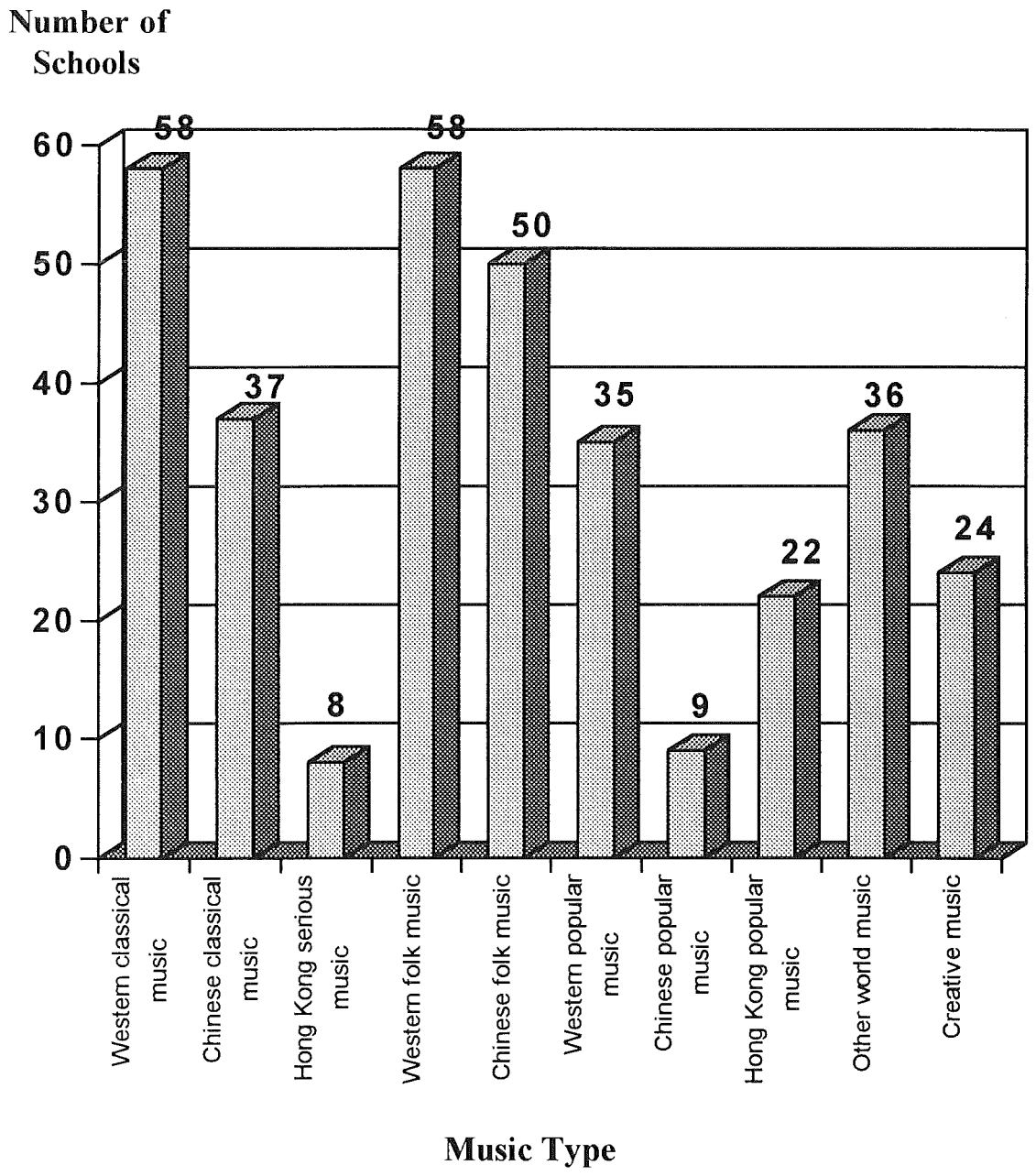
23. In your opinion, what are the most serious problems in contemporary Hong Kong secondary music education?

**** END OF QUESTIONNAIRE ****

Thank you again for your help and valuable opinions!

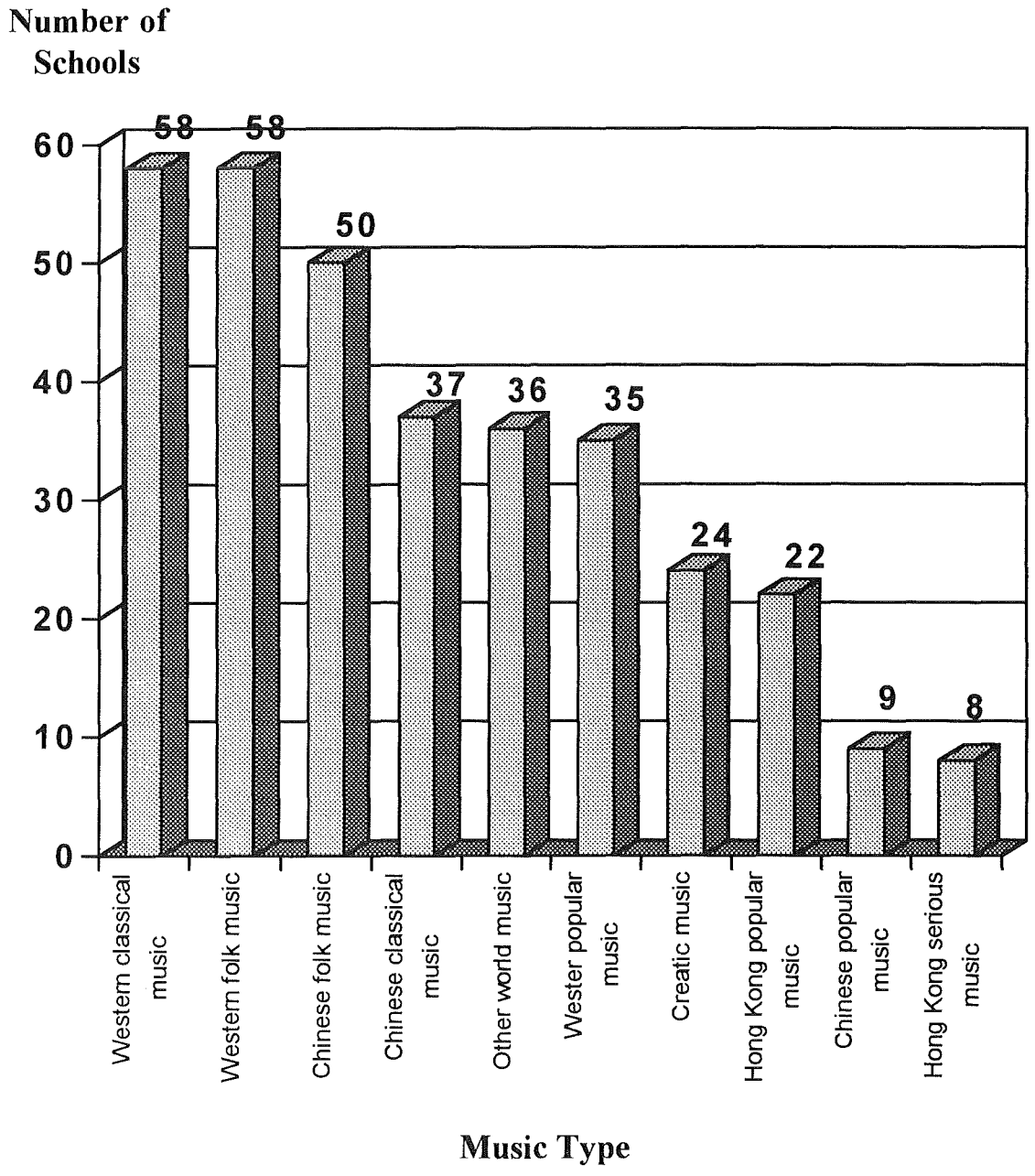
APPENDIX NINE

NUMBER OF SCHOOLS BY MUSIC TYPE



APPENDIX TEN

NUMBER OF SCHOOLS IN DESCENDING ORDER BY MUSIC TYPE



APPENDIX ELEVEN

Date: ____/____/ 1995

(Day Month Year)

PART I: BASIC DATA

1. Your name:

2. Title (Mr, Mrs, Ms, Dr, Prof etc):

3. Status (Professor, Lecturer etc):

PART II: MUSIC IN YOUR INSTITUTION

The questions in this part are broadly phrased so as to seek your personal opinions, views and ideas. If possible, please tick a box and write a brief description of your opinion; but if not possible, please just tick a box, which will still be a great help to me.

1. Do you run courses for Western "classical" music at your institution?

   ☐ YES ☐ NO

   Please give your reasons:

2. Do you run courses for Chinese "classical" music at your institution?

☐ YES ☐ NO

Please give your reasons:

3. Do you run courses at your institution for "serious" music written by Hong Kong composers?

☐ YES ☐ NO

Please give your reasons:

4. Do you run courses for popular music at your institution?

☐ YES ☐ NO

Please give your reasons:

5. Do you think that it is necessary to introduce civic education through music education?

☐ YES ☐ NO

How can civic education be encouraged?

* **If you are not running any courses for music education at your institution, then you may disregard the rest of this questionnaire. Thank you for your kind co-operation.**
If on the other hand, you are running courses for music education at your institution, please continue to Part III.

PART III MUSIC EDUCATION IN YOUR INSTITUTION

6. Do you run any courses for music education at your institution?

☐ YES ☐ NO

If YES, please indicate the title(s) of the course(s) (e.g. diploma, B.Ed, M.Ed) at your institution.

7. Do you think that the promotion of Chinese democratic popular songs with lyrics embedded with messages promoting the concepts of political pluralism and/or advocation of political freedom should be a part of civic education in secondary music education?

☐ YES ☐ NO

Please give your reasons:

8. Do you think that it is necessary to introduce the Chinese national anthem into secondary music education?

☐ YES ☐ NO

Please give your reasons:

9. In your opinion, what are the most serious problems in contemporary Hong Kong secondary music education?

10. According to the Hong Kong Arts Development Council's *Consultative Document:Strategic Plan 1996-2001* (August 1995:35), recommendations are suggested to be made to the Education Commission to improve the current music education system. In your opinion, what recommendations should be made for better music education in Hong Kong?

**** END OF QUESTIONNAIRE ****

Thank you again for your help and valuable opinion!